

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XXIX

MARCH, 1893

No. 3

GREAT CITIES IN THE CIVIL WAR

I.—NEW YORK

BY GENERAL T. F. RODENBOUGH

IF the city of New York was conspicuous as the centre of operations during the war to establish the unity and independence of the colonies, it was no less prominent as the principal base of supplies in the struggle to preserve the Union. An ancient writer has said, "It sufficeth not to the strength of the armes to have flesh, blood, and bones, unless they have also sinewes, to stretch out and pull in for the defense of the body; so it sufficeth not in an army to have Victuals, for the maintenance of it; Armour and Weapons for the defense of it; unless it have *Money* also, the *Sinewes of Warre*."¹ The financial records of the time bear convincing testimony to the effective manner in which the merchants and bankers of the Empire City supplied the federal government with the "sinewes" needed "to stretch out and pull in for the defense of the body" of the nation in its great peril. Before a shot had been fired, two important expeditions, designed to succor beleaguered garrisons, were fitted out at this port; after the capture of Sumter, a movement to the front of men and means furnished by New York began, and did not end until the surrender at Appomattox.

It is a notable fact that whenever the country has been threatened with danger to its form of government, the city of New York has declared



¹ Ward's *Animadversions of Warre*, London, 1639.

its position only after due reflection and careful consideration of the question involved. It was this tendency that delayed its final decision to take up arms against the mother-country at the opening of the Revolution; it was this feeling that induced some of its leading citizens to join in an effort to dissuade the South from secession. One of the last efforts to bring about a peaceful solution of the grave problem was called "the Pine street meeting." It was held under the auspices of leading citizens. Charles O'Connor presided, and resolutions, fraternal yet firm and dignified in tone, were unanimously passed.

Early in January, 1861, President Buchanan appointed John A. Dix secretary of the treasury, who signalized the closing days of that administration by a memorable and patriotic act. Within three days after the new cabinet minister had entered upon his duties he sent a special agent to New Orleans, Mobile, and Galveston, to save, if possible, the revenue cutters stationed at these ports. On January 29, Secretary Dix was advised by wire that the commanding officer of the *McClelland*, at New Orleans, refused to obey his orders. Immediately on receipt of this information, and without consultation with any one, he penned the order which has become historic, and which is here published in fac-simile. Although the secretary's action was decided upon without a moment's hesitation as to its spirit, the language received due consideration, as we are told¹ in a letter from General Dix to a friend long after the occurrence:

"Not a word was altered; but the original was handed to the clerk charged with the custody of my telegraphic dispatches, copied by him, and the copy signed by me and sent to its destination. Before I sent it, however, a question of military etiquette arose in my mind in regard to the arrest of Captain Breshwood, and I took a carriage and drove to the lodgings of Lieutenant-General Scott, to consult him in regard to it. Mr. Stanton was then attorney-general. My relations with him were of the most intimate character; and as he resided near General Scott's lodgings, I drove to his house first, and showed the dispatch to him. He approved of it, and made some remark expressing his gratification at the tone of the order. General Scott said I was right on the question of etiquette, and I think expressed his gratification that I had taken a decided stand against southern invasions of the authority of the government. I immediately returned to the department and sent the dispatch. General Scott, Mr. Stanton, and the clerk who copied it were the only persons who saw it. . . .

I decided when I wrote the order to say nothing to the president about it. I was satisfied that, if he was consulted, he would not permit it to be sent. Though indignant at the course of the southern states, and the men about him who had betrayed his confidence—Cobb, Floyd, and others—one leading idea had taken possession of his mind—that in the civil contest which threatened to break out, the North must not shed the first drop of blood. This idea is the key to his submission to much which should have been met with

¹ *Memoirs of John A. Dix*, by Rev. Morgan Dix, D.D., New York, 1884.

prompt and vigorous resistance. During the seven weeks I was with him he rarely failed to come to my room about ten o'clock, and converse with me for about an hour on the great questions of the day before going to his own room. I was strongly impressed with his conscientiousness. But he was timid and credulous. His confidence was easily gained, and it was not difficult for an artful man to deceive him. But I remember no instance in my unreserved intercourse with him in which I had reason to doubt his uprightness.

Tuesdays and Fridays were cabinet days. The members met, without notice, at the president's house in the morning. My order was given, as has been stated, on Tuesday evening. I said nothing to the president in regard to it, though he was with me every evening, until Friday, when the members of the cabinet were all assembled, and the president was about to call our attention to the business of the day. I said to him, 'Mr. President, I fear we have lost some more of our revenue cutters.' 'Ah!' said he, 'how is that?' I then told him what had occurred down to the receipt of the dispatch from Mr. Jones informing me that Captain Breshwood refused to obey my order. 'Well,' said he, 'what did you do?' I then repeated to him, slowly and distinctly, the order I had sent. When I came to the words, 'shoot him on the spot,' he started up suddenly, and said, with a good deal of emotion, 'Did you write that?'

'No, sir,' I said; 'I did not write it, but I telegraphed it.' He made no answer, nor do I remember that he ever referred to it afterward. It was manifest, as I have presupposed, that the order would never have been given if I had consulted him.

It only remains for me to say that the order was not the result of any premeditation—scarcely of any thought. A conviction of the right course to be taken was as instantaneous as a flash of light; and I did not think, when I seized the nearest pen (a very bad one,

*Treasury Dept Wash
Jan. 29, 1864*

*Tell Lieut. Caldwell to arrest
Capt. Breshwood, assume command
of the cutter and obey the order I gave
through you. If Capt. Breshwood
after arrest undertakes to interfere
with the command of the cutter, tell
Lieut. Caldwell to consider him
as a mutineer & treat him accord-
ingly. If any one attempts to haul
down the American flag, shoot
him on the spot. -*

*John A. Dix
Secretary of the Treasury.*

as the fac-simile shows) and wrote the order in as little time as it would take to read it, that I was doing anything specially worthy of remembrance. It touched the public mind and heart strongly, no doubt, because the blood of all patriotic men was boiling with indignation at the humiliation which we were enduring; and I claim no other merit than that of having thought rightly, and of having expressed strongly what I felt in common with the great body of my countrymen."

"Such is the history of the famous dispatch. In concluding it I quote my father's words by way of explanation and justification of his language. He says, in his report to congress: 'It may be proper to add, in reference to the closing period of the foregoing dispatch, that as the flag of the Union, since 1777, when it was devised and adopted by the founders of the republic, had never until a recent day been hauled down, except by honorable hands in manly conflict, no hesitation was felt in attempting to uphold it at any cost against an act of treachery, as the ensign of the public authority and the emblem of unnumbered victories by land and sea.'"

For many years the general-in-chief of the army had his personal residence and official headquarters in the city of New York. Although increasing infirmities warned General Scott that his days of active service were well-nigh spent, yet he failed not, before relinquishing his office, to call the attention of President Buchanan, as early as October, 1860, to the unprotected state of certain fortifications on the southern coast, expressing his "solemn conviction that there is some danger of an early act of rashness preliminary to secession," and urging their prompt occupation by suitable garrisons.¹ But the bewildered politician hesitated, and the opportunity was lost. As we recur in memory to that dark period of national history, we find it illumined by one ray of light, increasing in brilliancy as the years roll on. In striking contrast to the vacillation and timidity of the executive and the divided opinions of the cabinet, appear the firmness, simplicity, and patriotism of Robert Anderson. Believing that the South had been unjustly treated, having reason to think that his government had abandoned him, beset with temptations of kinship and friendship, surrounded with enemies ready to destroy him, the tempered steel of his nature was equal to the test. His duty, according to his simple code of

¹ *Memoirs of John A. Dix*, I. 373.

² "From a knowledge of our southern population it is my solemn conviction that there is some danger of an early act of rashness preliminary to secession, viz., the seizure of some or all of the following posts: . . . Forts Pickens and McRea, Pensacola harbor; Forts Moultrie and Sumter, Charleston harbor. All these works should be immediately so garrisoned as to make any attempt to take any one of them, by surprise or *coup de main*, ridiculous."—General Scott's *Memoirs*, New York, 1864.

morals, was plain : like the Roman sentinel, he might be forgotten, but he would never voluntarily abandon his post. How unselfishly and gallantly Major Anderson and his little band of régulars acquitted themselves is a matter of undying fame. One member of the Buchanan cabinet—Secretary Black—wrote of Anderson's military movement from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, that "he has saved the country, I solemnly believe, when its day was darkest and its peril most extreme. He has done everything that mortal man could do to repair the fatal error which the administration has committed in not sending down troops enough to hold *all* the forts."

With the change of administration the reins of government slipped from the nerveless hands of one president into the firmer if somewhat unskillful grasp of another. It cannot be said that order *promptly* emerged from chaos. The task before Mr. Lincoln was too colossal, and the means at his disposal too crude, to cause the machinery of government to work effectively at once. So, in the early attempt to provision Sumter and reinforce Pickens, the functions of cabinet officers and captains of the staff were curiously intermingled. The spectacle of a military engineer and a military secretary to the commanding general working in haste and secrecy, under the personal supervision of a secretary of state, to arrange the details of an important movement of the land and naval forces, without the knowledge of the ministers of war or navy; the perfunctory reference of their work to the general-in-chief for his official signature, and its final transfer by the president to the juniors aforesaid with *carte blanche* as to its execution, were hardly calculated to produce that "good order and military discipline" which were to prove essential factors in the restoration of the Union. The president, however, finding that his efforts to execute the laws by ignoring regulations and "cutting knots" resulted in confusion, returned to the system of making each department of the government responsible for details pertaining to it; and, thereafter, he generally observed this rule.

When Anderson's famous telegram announcing the fall of Sumter was published, the effect upon the people of New York was instantaneous. Politicians were silent in the face of the unanimity with which men of all parties were roused to action. As was well said : "The incidents of the last two days will live in history. Not for fifty years has such a spectacle been seen as that glorious uprising of American loyalty which greeted



Robert Anderson

the news that open war had been commenced upon the constitution and government of the United States. The great heart of the American people beat with one high pulsation of courage, and of fervid love and devotion to the great republic. Party dissensions were instantly hushed; political differences disappeared and were as thoroughly forgotten as if they had never existed; men ceased to think of themselves or their parties—they thought only of their country and of the dangers which menaced its existence. Nothing for years has brought the hearts of all the

people so close together, or so inspired them all with common hopes and common fears and a common aim, as the bombardment and surrender of an American fortress."

President Lincoln's first call for aid was instantly responded to by the legislature of New York with an appropriation of three millions of dollars; the militia regiments of the city and vicinity hastened to offer their services; recruiting rendezvous were opened for new organizations; the Chamber of Commerce passed resolutions pledging substantial aid to the government, and urging the prompt block-

N.Y. BALTIMORE OFF SANDY HOOK APRIL EIGHTEENTH TEN THIRTY A.M. VIA
NEW YORK. MON. S. CAMERON SECY. WAR. WASHN. HAVING DEFENDED
FORT SUMNER FOR THIRTY FOUR HOURS UNTIL THE QUARTERS WERE EN
FIRELY BURNED THE MAIN GATES DESTROYED BY FIRE, THE CORSE WALLS
SERIOUSLY INJURED, THE MAGAZINE SURROUNDED BY FLAMES AND ITS
DOOR CLOSED FROM THE EFFECTS OF HEAT, FOUR BARRELS AND THREE
CARTRIDGES OF POWDER ONLY BEING AVAILABLE AND NO PROVISIONS
REMAINING BUT FORT. I ACCEPTED TERMS OF EVACUATION OFFERED BY
GENERAL BEAUREGARD BEING ON SAME OFFERED BY HIM ON THE ELEV
ENTS. FIRST, PRIOR TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES AND MARCHED
OUT OF THE FORT SUNDAY AFTERNOON THE FOURTEENTH INST, WITH
COLORS FLYING, AND DRUMS BEATING, BRINGING AWAY COMPANY AND
PRIVATE PROPERTY AND SALUTING MY FLAG WITH FIFTY GUNS. ROBERT
ANDERSON, MAJOR FIRST ARTILLERY, COMMANDING.¹

ANDERSON'S TELEGRAM, APRIL 18, 1861.

ade of southern ports; and a great wave of popular enthusiasm swept over the city.

The municipality of New York promptly passed the following resolutions, drafted by one who afterwards distinguished himself on many bloody fields—Daniel E. Sickles:

¹ The original dispatch was printed by Morse's telegraph, and the ribbon-like strips were pasted on a sheet of paper in order to be more convenient and for better preservation. The above illustration is made from a photograph of the original in the possession of General E. D. Townsend. U. S. A.

Resolved, That we invoke in this crisis the unselfish patriotism and the unfaltering loyalty which have been uniformly manifested in all periods of national peril by the population of the city of New York ; and while we reiterate our undiminished affection for the friends of the Union who have gallantly and faithfully labored in the southern states for the preservation of peace and the restoration of fraternal relations among the people, and our readiness to co-operate with them in all honorable measures of reconciliation, yet we only give expression to the convictions of our constituents when we declare it to be their unalterable purpose, as it is their solemn duty, to do all in their power to uphold and defend the integrity of the Union, and to vindicate the honor of our flag, and to crush the power of those who are enemies in war, as in peace they were friends.

Resolved, That a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions be transmitted to the President of the United States, and to the Governor of the State of New York. "

In a recent address General Sickles said: "I well remember the words of President Lincoln when he referred to this action of our city government, a few days afterwards, when I called upon him for instructions touching the command I had undertaken to raise on the invitation of Governor Morgan. He said: 'Sickles, I have here on my table the resolutions passed by your common council appropriating a million of dollars toward raising men for this war, and promising to do all in the power of your authorities to support the government. When these resolutions were brought to me by Alderman Frank Boole and his associates of the committee, I felt my burden lighter. I felt that when men broke through party lines and took this patriotic stand for the government and the Union, all must come out well in the end. When you see them, tell them for me, they made my heart glad, and I can only say, God bless them.'"



Samuel J. Tilden

The march of the first New England troops through the city, to the defense of the capital, is graphically described by the Rev. Dr. Dix:¹

"They came in at night ; and it was understood that, after breakfasting at the Astor House, the march would be resumed. By nine o'clock in the morning an immense crowd had assembled about the hotel ; Broadway, from Barclay to Fulton street, and the lower end of Park row, were occupied by a dense mass of human beings, all watching the front entrance, at which the regiment was to file out. From side to side, from wall to wall, extended that innumerable host, silent as the grave, expectant, something unspeak-

¹ *Memoirs of John A. Dix*, II. 10.

able in the faces. It was the dead, deep hush before the thunder-storm. At last a low murmur was heard ; it sounded somewhat like a gasp of men in suspense ; and the cause was that the soldiers had appeared, their leading files descending the steps. By the twinkle of their bayonets above the heads of the crowd their course could be traced out into the open street in front. Formed, at last, in column, they stood, the band at the head ; and the word was given, ' March ! ' Still dead silence prevailed. Then the drums rolled out the time—the regiment was in motion. And then the band, bursting into full volume, struck up—what other tune could the Massachusetts men have chosen ?—' Yankee Doodle.' I caught about two bars and a half of the old music, not more ; for instantly there arose a sound such as many a man never heard in all his life, and never will hear ; such as is never heard more than once in a lifetime. Not more awful is the thunder of heaven as, with sudden peal, it smites into silence all lesser sounds, and, rolling through the vault above us, fills earth and sky with the shock of its terrible voice. One terrific roar burst from the multitude, leaving nothing audible save its own reverberation. We saw the heads of armed men, the gleam of their weapons, the regimental colors, all moving on, pageant-like ; but naught could we hear save that hoarse, heavy surge—one general acclaim, one wild shout of joy and hope, one endless cheer, rolling up and down, from side to side, above, below, to right, to left ; the voice of approval, of consent, of unity in act and will. No one who saw and heard could doubt how New York was going."

The resistance to the passage of the Sixth Massachusetts through Baltimore, on the 19th of April, fanned the public excitement to the verge of madness. The news that descendants of freemen who fell at Lexington had been slain, on the anniversary of that memorable fight, while marching to the defense of the capital, sent a thrill of indignation through the North.



Ed Morgan

If the impending calamity of civil war found the government of the United States in a state of transition as regarded its *personnel*, it was met by New York with all the firmness and ability of a substantial state administration and the strength of a patriotic majority in the city. At Albany that sterling citizen, Governor Edwin D. Morgan, stood ready to second the new president ; he was aided in matters of detail by an efficient staff, of which Chester A. Arthur—the future chief magistrate—was an excellent type. The men of power and influence in the community, with true public spirit and patriotic impulse, rose *en masse*, and, exercising a characteristic American talent for organization, put themselves directly in touch with the federal executive. Through the channels of trade, manufactures, and the learned professions, popular subscriptions were made to a

fund for the equipment and temporary subsistence of troops hastening to the defense of the capital. In an inconceivably short time an immense sum of money was placed at the government's disposal, and the tramp of the Union legions was heard from Maine to California.¹ Among individuals who devoted themselves faithfully to the Union cause was the well-known Thurlow Weed. Famous as a political leader, he now came to the front as a philanthropist and counselor. He has left behind him interesting memoirs of the war time, which show how important were the services of men like Weed, Simeon Draper, and Henry W. Bellows, who, without glittering insignia or martial title, labored early and late for the cause, furnishing "Victuals," "Armour," and the "Sinewes of Warre." An example may here be related. Mr. Weed was summoned to the White House from New York by a telegram dated February 18, 1863. On the



Thurlow Weed

following day he called on President Lincoln, who said: "Mr. Weed, we are in a tight place. Money for legitimate purposes is needed immediately; but there is no appropriation from which it can be lawfully taken. I didn't know how to raise it, and so I sent for you." "How much is required?" asked Mr. Weed. "Fifteen thousand dollars," said the president. "Can you get it?" "If you must have it at once, give me two lines to that effect." Mr. Lincoln turned to his desk and wrote a few lines on a slip of paper. Handing it to Mr. Weed, he said, "Will that do?" "It will," said Mr. Weed; "the money will be at your disposal to-morrow morning." On the next train Mr. Weed left Washington, and before five o'clock that afternoon the slip of paper which he carried in his pocket bore fifteen names with one thousand dollars opposite each.

One of the most important and immediate results of the popular agitation following the fall of Sumter was the organization of the "Union Defense Committee of the City of New York." It comprised some of the most prominent men in trade and the learned professions. It became the almoner of the municipality for the emergency, and a veritable Aladdin's lamp through which, at a touch, regiments were armed, equipped, and

¹ The *New York Herald*, April 29, 1861, makes up a table of voluntary contributions by cities, counties, and individuals in the North, "all \$1,000 or over, which sum up to \$11,230,000, of which New York city gives \$2,155,000, and the New York state legislature \$3,000,000 more. And all this has been subscribed since April 15."

transported to the nearest rendezvous; steamers of the largest size were chartered as transports, or, in some cases, as additions to the naval forces of the United States. The local facilities, the business training, and the unlimited credit of the committee, combined with a loyal enthusiasm, accomplished wonders. Nor was this patriotic zeal without its embarrassments. The committee, having turned on the stream of aid and comfort, undertook, in some cases, to direct the war department in its use, to urge the president to greater haste in crushing the rebellion, and inadvertently to usurp the executive functions of the governor. The federal authorities declined to move with undue haste, but their determination was conveyed to the committee in a way to strengthen rather than to impair the good feeling which it was important to maintain between the Union people and the government. Thenceforward their relations were mutually satisfactory.



Hamilton Fish

The Union Defense Committee was organized April 22, 1861, and adjourned *sine die*, April 30, 1862. During that period it disbursed more than a million dollars for the benefit of New York volunteers and the support of soldiers' widows and orphans.

Soon after General Scott's retirement from active service a delegation from the Union Defense Committee, headed by Hamilton Fish, called upon the old hero at the Brevoort House to present an address embodying the sentiments of love and respect which all Americans, and especially the citizens of New York, entertained for him. Edwards Pierrepont also made appropriate remarks, comprising this extract: "The advents of true patriots and great men are always separated by long intervals of years; but few have ever appeared; and in the whole circuit of the sun scarce one who had the courage to resign his power until death called for his crown, his sceptre, or his sword. It will be the crowning glory of your honored life that, after remaining at the soldier's post until all imminent danger was over, . . . you had the wisdom from on high to retire at the fitting hour, and thus to make the glories of your setting sun ineffably more bright for the radiant lustre which they shed upon the young and dawning hope of your beloved land. . . ."

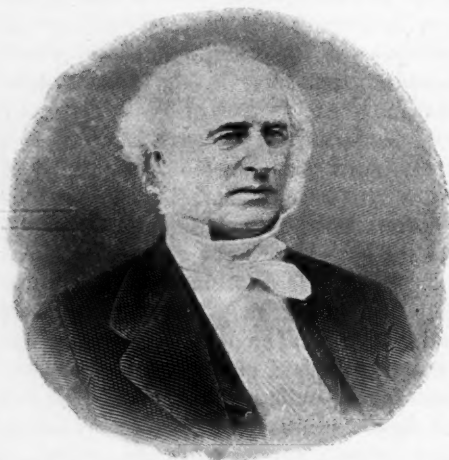
On April 17, General Sandford, commanding the First Division N. G. S. N. Y., received orders from Albany "to detail one regiment of eight hundred men, or two regiments amounting to the same number, for

immediate service." The detail fell to the Seventh regiment, and on Friday, the 19th, at 3 P.M., it marched down Broadway with nine hundred and ninety-one men, bound for the capital of the nation. More than three months previously the regimental board of officers had "resolved that, should the exigency arise, we feel confident in having the commandant express to the governor of the state the desire of this regiment to perform such duty as he may prescribe."¹

The march to Cortlandt street was in the nature of a triumphal pageant. The entire city was present to wish the first regiment of the first city in the land God-speed. If in these days of militia reform the Seventh maintains its supremacy, in those times of local train-bands, when military efficiency of state troops was the exception, the regiment was, indeed, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of its countrymen. Its successful movement to the defense of Washington, by way of Annapolis, under the wise leadership of Colonel Lefferts, is a matter of history. It will, perhaps, never be known how much those "one thousand of the flower of the city of New York" contributed by their presence to save the capital from hostile occupation. It was sufficient that President Lincoln could announce that "the Seventh regiment and the Massachusetts regiment are now in Washington. There was great need of re-enforcements, but Washington may be considered safe for the country and the constitution." The Union Defense Committee advised the president (April 21) that "On behalf of the committee of the citizens charged with the due attention to public interests, and invested with this power by the mass meeting of Saturday, we take leave respectfully to represent to the government at Washington that intense solicitude prevails here for the safety of the city of Washington, and that there is an earnest demand that a safe and speedy communication should be kept open between the seat of government and the loyal states. Whatever force of men or supply of means is needed to occupy and control the necessary points in the state of Maryland, can be furnished from or through New York. The energy, the enthusiasm, the power in every form, of our people, it is impossible to overrate. But their demands upon the action of all the public authorities are proportionate. The absolute obliteration of all party lines among our whole population, and their per-

¹ General Scott wrote from Washington, January 19, 1861, to General Sandford, with regard to this resolution: "Perhaps no regiment or company can be brought here from a distance without producing hurtful jealousies in this vicinity. If there be an exception, it is the Seventh Infantry of the city of New York, which has become somewhat national, and is held, deservedly, in the highest respect."

fect union in enthusiastic patriotism, make it, in our judgment, highly expedient that there should be present in this city persons who can, in case of emergency, represent the war, navy, and treasury departments in giving the authority of the government to movements of troops and vessels, the stoppage of steamers, the provision of arms, and the many steps which may need to be taken without an opportunity of communicating with Washington. We feel to-day that our government and the city of Washington are in a hostile country, with communication embarrassed and in danger of being wholly cut off. If disaster happens from



C. Vanderbilt

this cause, the excitement of our people may lead them into strong expressions of discontent, and the present happy state of public sentiment in universal support of the administration may be succeeded by a reaction of feeling greatly to be deplored."

The great capitalist and steamship proprietor, Cornelius Vanderbilt, placed some of his finest vessels at the disposal of the government. When the terrible Merrimac threatened to destroy the Union fleet in the James river, the commodore fitted out his largest and strongest steamer, the Vanderbilt, to operate against the Confed-

erate ram, and presented her to the government. In remembrance of this princely gift, congress subsequently voted a gold medal to the donor.

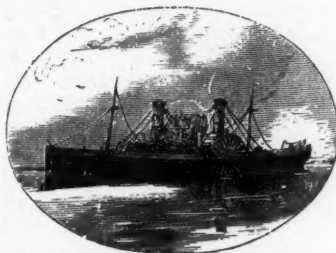
Closely following the men of New York came the action of her noble women. A circular addressed "To the women of New York, and especially to those already engaged in preparing against the time of wounds and sickness in the army," was published. It set forth the importance of system and concentration to effect the best results in the field.¹ It

¹ "To the Women of New York, and especially to those already engaged in preparing against the time of Wounds and Sickness in the Army:

The importance of systematizing and concentrating the spontaneous and earnest efforts now

was the germ of the most important auxiliary to the medical department of the Union armies which the war created—the Sanitary Commission. Out of this conference grew the "Woman's Central Association of Relief." Upon the advice of the Rev. Dr. Bellows a committee proceeded to Washington to confer with the war department as to the needs of the service, and the best method of supplying them. This committee represented the Woman's Central Association of Relief for the Sick and Wounded of the Army, the Advisory Committee of the Boards of Physicians and Surgeons of the Hospitals of New York, and the New York Medical Association for Furnishing Hospital Supplies in Aid of the Army. Out of their suggestions arose that wonderful institution for alleviating the horrors of war, known as the "United States Sanitary Commission."

"If pure benevolence was ever organized and utilized into beneficence, the name of the institution is the Sanitary Commission. It is a standing answer to Samson's riddle: 'Out of the strong came forth sweetness.' Out of the very depths of the agony of this cruel and bloody war springs this beautiful system, built of the noblest and divinest attributes of the human soul. Amidst all the daring and enduring which this war has developed, amidst all the magnanimity of which it has shown the race capable, the daring, the endurance, the greatness of soul, which have been discovered among the men and women who have given their lives to this work, shine as brightly as any on the battlefield—in some respects even more brightly. . . . Glimpses of this agency are familiar to our people; but not till the history of its inception, progress, and results is calmly and adequately written out and



STEAMER "VANDERBILT."

making by the women of New York for the supply of richer medical aid to our army through its present campaign, must be obvious to all reflecting persons. Numerous societies, working without concert, organization, or head—without any direct understanding with the official authorities—without any positive instructions as to the immediate or future wants of the army—are liable to waste their enthusiasm in disproportionate efforts, to overlook some claims and overdo others, while they give unnecessary trouble in official quarters by the variety and irregularity of their proffers of help or their inquiries for guidance. As no existing organization has a right to claim precedence over any other, or could properly assume to lead in this noble cause, where all desire to be first, it is proposed by the undersigned, members of the various circles now actively engaged in this work, that the women of New York should meet in the Cooper Institute on Monday next, at 11 o'clock, A.M., to confer together, and to appoint a general committee, with power to organize the benevolent purposes of all into a common movement."

spread before the public will any idea be formed of the magnitude and importance of the work which it has done. Nor even then. Never, until every soldier whose flickering life it has gently steadied into continuance, whose waning reason it has softly lulled into quiet, whose chilled blood it has warmed into healthful play, whose failing frame it has nourished into strength, whose fainting heart it has comforted with sympathy—never, until every full soul has poured out its story of gratitude and thanksgiving, will the record be complete; but long before that time . . . comes the Blessed Voice, ‘Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.’ An approximate estimate has been made from which it can be stated that the gifts of the women of the country, made through the Sanitary Commission, exceed in value the sum of seven million dollars, and the total cash received by its treasurer to October 1, 1863, was eight hundred and fifty-seven thousand seven hundred and fifteen dollars and thirty-three cents.”



MRS. EOTTA.

The promptness and determination with which New York took her stand in the great trouble surprised and disappointed the South, which had counted upon at least a negative course by reason of mutual commercial interests. No longer resting under that delusion, the southern press poured forth vials of wrath after this fashion: “The insane

fury of New York arises from purely mercenary motives. She is concerned about the golden eggs which are laid for her by the southern goose with the sword. Let us assure her we have more fear of her smiles than of her frowns. New York will be remembered with especial hatred by the South to the end of time. Boston we have always known where to find; but this New York, which has never turned against us till the hour of trial, and is now moving heaven and earth for our destruction, shall be a marked city to the end of time.” Even before the great clash of arms, the newspapers of both sections had opened fire with the most bitter word-weapons and the most startling war rumors conceivable. It was to be their harvest-time—to reap while others sowed.

The severe strain to which republican institutions were about to be

exposed in America became the subject of great interest to our European neighbors, and the leading British newspapers did not fail to appreciate its value. Therefore a new order of Bohemian made its appearance, simultaneously, in New York, Washington, and Richmond. As a rule, the foreign war correspondent wrote with comparative impartiality. Now and then a superior sort of person, like "Bull Run Russell," appeared upon the scene and essayed to make his portfolio carry weight with the credentials of an envoy extraordinary, but, lacking ordinary tact, contrived to have himself recalled early in the strife. A more discreet ambassador was, apparently, the representative of the *Illustrated London News*. It is interesting, after many years, to see ourselves as an intelligent stranger saw us then. Writing in the last days of May, 1861, he says:

I could easily believe myself to be in Paris, or some other city devoted to military display, instead of New York, the commercial emporium of the North. From morning to night nothing is heard but the sound of the drum or the martial strains from trumpet and bugle, as regiment after regiment passes on its way to the seat of war through streets crowded with a maddened population. All trade is at a stand-still. Store after store down Broadway has been turned into the headquarters of Anderson's Zouaves, Wilson's Boys, the Empire City Guard, and hosts of corps too numerous or too eccentric in their names for me to recollect. Verily, a cosmopolitan army is assembled here. As one walks he is jostled by soldiers dressed in the uniforms of the Zouaves de la Garde, the Chasseurs à Pied, Infanterie de la Ligne, and other French regiments—so great, apparently, is the admiration of our cousins for everything Gallic. I must confess I should like to see more nationality. In justice, however, to the men, I cannot do otherwise than express my unqualified approval of the material out of which the North is to make her patriot army. Many of those I have seen marching through the streets appear already to have served in the field, so admirably do they bear themselves in their new rôles. The very children have become tainted with the military epidemic, and little, toddling Zouaves, three and four years old, strut, armed to the teeth, at their nurses' apron-strings. As I write I have a corps of chasseurs, composed of all the small boys in the hotel, exercising and skirmishing in the corridor outside my room. . . . There is not a house that does not display Union colors of some kind; there is not a steeple ever so lofty that is not surmounted by a star-spangled banner; there is not a man nor woman in the city that does not wear a patriotic badge of some kind. It is a mighty uprising of a united people determined to protect their flag to the last.

"Early in the summer of 1861, when things were rapidly developing toward the rebellion, a new power, not hitherto exercised in this country, was exerted for the public safety. Persons were arbitrarily arrested and confined under military guard on evidence satisfactory to the general government that they were guilty of acts of a disloyal and dangerous character. It devolved upon the secretary of state in the first instance to indicate who should be thus put in confinement. He made the arrests through his

marshals, and they were turned over to General Scott, who held them at Fort Lafayette, in New York harbor."¹

One of the earliest duties devolving upon the president was to counteract, as far as practicable, the strong influences brought to bear by the South upon the governments of Great Britain and France to recognize the Confederacy, or at least to break off the friendly relations with the United States which existed at the outbreak of secession. He determined to ask three eminent citizens—Archbishop John Hughes of New York, Bishop Charles P. McIlvaine of Ohio, and Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott, then abroad—to represent the general government. Archbishop Hughes accepted the invitation of the president, with the condition that his friend Thurlow Weed should be included in the commission, in an advisory

capacity. Thus the powerful combination of church and state, of war and diplomacy, made it an ideal embassy. These wise men established themselves alternately at London and Paris, mingled with the leaders of the people, and cultivated the society of the royal and imperial premiers. They happened to be in the right place when the irritating episode of the Trent occurred, and war between England, France, and America seemed imminent. It was averted by only a hair's-breadth, and in the light of later developments as to the inside history of the rebellion, it would seem that the American people owe President Lincoln's peace commission a heavy debt of gratitude.



+ John A. B. of N.Y.

The third year of the civil war was marked in the city of New York by the most protracted and bloody riot in her history. The northern states had responded nobly to the president's various calls for volunteers, but as the great struggle continued, voluntary food for powder became scarce, and the government was forced to resort to compulsory enlistment. In most of the states there was little difficulty in enforcing the draft. In New York there was hesitation on the part of Governor Seymour to aid in a measure extremely unpopular among a certain class in the community. His reluctance to co-operate with the general government encouraged the worst elements in the city to open rebellion. The merits of the question are clearly set forth in a work by the (then) provost-marshal-general of the United States.² From this and other reliable sources it appears that on

¹ *Anecdotes of the Civil War*, E. D. Townsend, New York, 1884.

² *New York and the Conscription*, James B. Fry, New York, 1885.

July 2, 1862, the president issued a call for three hundred thousand volunteers—his final effort to suppress the rebellion by voluntary military service. On August 4, following, he called for three hundred thousand nine-months militia. In September the war department issued instructions under which some of the governors commenced a draft.

In a letter dated August 4, 1862, to Count de Gasparin, President Lincoln said: "Our great army has dwindled rapidly, bringing the necessity for a new call earlier than was anticipated. We shall easily obtain the new levy, however. Be not alarmed if you shall learn that we have resorted to a draft for part of this. It seems strange even to me, but it is true, that the government is now pressed to this course by a popular demand.¹ Thousands who wish not to personally enter the service are nevertheless anxious to pay and send substitutes, provided that they can have assurance that unwilling persons similarly situated will be compelled to do likewise."

In his annual report, dated December 31, 1862, Adjutant-General Hillhouse said: "There was nothing of that eagerness to enter the service which had been manifested at various periods, and it appeared as if the people had fallen into an apathy from which only an extraordinary effort could arouse them." He further said that the state was deficient twenty-eight thousand five hundred and seventeen men in volunteers furnished since July 2, 1862, and of these eighteen thousand five hundred and twenty-three belonged to the city of New York, adding that "the credit to the city and county of New York is based on the



J. L. WORDEN.

¹ "There is only one way to remedy our fatal error: that is, for the president at once to establish a system of conscription, by which, instead of three hundred thousand, at least five hundred thousand men should be called under arms. . . . Instead of levying new regiments commanded by inexperienced officers of their own choosing, and who, for a year to come, would barely add anything to our efficiency in the field, the raw recruits ought to be collected at camps of instruction, in healthy localities East and West, where, under the direction of West Point graduates, they should be drilled and disciplined. From thence, as they are fit for active service, they should be furnished to the army, to be incorporated into the old regiments."—August Belmont to Thurlow Weed, July 20, 1862.

actual returns filed in this office, but it is believed that it is less than the volunteers furnished." The necessity for a general conscription was set forth in the public utterances of war democrats and republicans alike. "Senator McDougall (democrat) said: 'Now, in regard to the conscription question, I will say for myself that I regretted much, when this war was first organized, that the conscription rule did not obtain. I went from the extreme east to the extreme west of the loyal states. I found some districts where some bold leaders brought out all the young men, and sent them or led them to the field. In other districts, and they were the most numerous, the people made no movement toward the maintenance of the war; there were whole towns and cities, I may say, where no one volunteered to shoulder a musket, and no one offered to lead them into the service. The whole business has been unequal and wrong from the first. The rule of conscription should have been the rule to bring out men of all classes, and make it equal throughout the country; and therein the North has failed.'"¹

General Fry, the provost-marshal-general, said: "It was of great importance to the people of the state as well as to the general government that a correct enrollment should be made. The Adjutant-General of New York, when speaking, in his report of December 31, 1862, of the principle of compulsory service, said to the governor: 'Nor is it less a matter of interest to the states. Whatever may be the plan adopted, the force required must be drawn from their population liable to military duty, on which the one million of volunteers hitherto sent to the field has already made serious inroads. They have, moreover, a common interest with the general government in such an application of their military resources as will render them most effective for the purposes in view with the least possible waste, and with as little hardship as possible to the community.' The Enrollment Act was approved March 3, 1863. Section nine required that the enrollers '*immediately* proceed to enroll' and report the result 'on or before the first day of April' to the Board of Enrollment, and the board was required by the act to consolidate the names into one list and transmit the same to the provost-marshal-general 'on or before the first day of May.' There was, it is true, a proviso that if these duties *could not* be done in the time specified, they should be performed as soon thereafter as practicable; but neither the intention of the law, nor the manifest necessity under which it was enacted, permitted delay; or, as President Lincoln expressed it in his letter to Governor Seymour, dated August 7, 1863, 'We could not waste time to re-experiment with the vol-

¹ *New York and the Conscription.*

unteer system, already deemed by congress, and palpably, in fact, so far exhausted as to be inadequate; and then more time to obtain a correct decision as to whether a law is constitutional which requires a part of those not now in the service to go to the aid of those who are already in it; and still more time to determine with absolute certainty that we get those who are to go in the precisely legal proportion to those who are not to go.' 'My purpose,' the president added, 'is to be in my actions just and constitutional, and yet practical in performing the important duty with which I am charged, of maintaining the unity and the free principles of our common country.'"

The political campaign of 1862 in New York was hardly less exciting than the military operations in Virginia. The republican standard-bearer was that gallant soldier and unselfish patriot, James S. Wadsworth; his democratic opponent, the eminent lawyer, Horatio Seymour. The first stood on a radical platform—one of its planks being the prosecution of the war by "all the means that the God of Battles has placed in the power of the government." The other candidate was put forth by a more conservative constituency, favoring "all legitimate means to suppress the rebellion," and leaning to a milder policy. Seymour was elected by a majority of ten thousand seven hundred and fifty-two. "On January 1, 1863, the outgoing administration of Governor Morgan turned over to the incoming administration of Governor Seymour the revised state enrollment, the government's order to draft the militia, and the deficiency of New York heretofore mentioned."¹

Preparations for the proposed draft were rapidly pushed forward by the war department. Those affecting the city comprised the appointment of a provost-marshal for each congressional district, and an assistant provost-marshal-general to supervise their work, for the cities of New York and Brooklyn; this officer was Colonel Robert Nugent, Sixty-ninth New York volunteers, a gallant soldier, a discreet officer, an Irishman, and a democrat. As early as April 24, 1862, Governor Seymour and Mayor Opdyke were informed of this. The first order for making a draft in the state under the Enrollment Act was issued July 1. Notwithstanding the knowledge which the municipal authorities possessed, that an unpopular public measure was about to be put into execution within the city limits, it does not appear that any unusual precaution was taken to preserve the peace. Indeed, the force available for that purpose, outside of the police, was limited to a handful of regulars in the harbor garrisons, and a few disabled men of the Invalid corps. The local militia regiments

¹ *New York and the Conscription.*

had been summoned to repel the threatened invasion of a neighboring state in co-operation with the armies in the field, leaving their own homes open to an enemy in the rear more to be dreaded than the soldiers of Lee. Nevertheless, the police department comprised numerous resolute, experienced, and able officers, especially its president, Thomas Acton, and its superintendent, John A. Kennedy.

The morning of Saturday, July 11, had been selected for the commencement of the draft in the city, and the day passed without much interference with the officers charged with its supervision; and the local authorities felt encouraged to think that the remainder of the work would be completed without serious opposition. The following day being Sunday, was undoubtedly seized by those intent upon obstructing the provost-marshals in the discharge of their duty to foment trouble among



C. M. Kirkland

the ignorant or reckless element that abounds in every large city. On Monday morning a few policemen were sent to the enrolling offices at 677 Third avenue and at 1190 Broadway. At the last-named place the mystic wheel was set in motion, and the drawing of names was continued without interruption until noon, when the provost-marshals suspended operations as a measure of precaution. Up to ten o'clock in the morning the city had been comparatively quiet. At that hour Superintendent Kennedy, while upon a tour of inspection, without escort, and in plain clothes, was attacked by a mob at the corner of Forty-sixth street and Lexington avenue, and, after being severely beaten, barely escaped with his life through the intervention of an influential friend. He was disabled for some days, and the immediate command of the police devolved upon Mr. Acton. That officer established himself at police headquarters in Mulberry street, and, with the advantage of a complete telegraphic system centring there, practically directed the operations of the campaign which ensued. The entire police force of the city had now been assembled at its respective station-houses, and for the next three days was constantly employed in stamping out the sparks of insurrection which were flying about and at times breaking out into sheets of flame that threatened the existence of the city. From the Cooper Institute to Forty-sixth street, Third avenue was black with human beings, who hung over the eaves of the buildings, filled the doors and windows, and packed the street from curb to curb. Small bodies of police were driven away or

trampled under foot, houses were fired, stores looted, and a very carnival of crime inaugurated. Negroes became especially obnoxious, and neither age nor sex was regarded by the white brutes in slaking their thirst for blood: from every lamp-post were suspended the victims of their blind fury. With one accord several thousand rioters swooped down upon the Colored Orphan asylum, then occupying the space from Forty-third to Forty-fourth street on Fifth avenue. The two hundred helpless children were hurriedly removed by a rear door while the mob rushed in at the front; the torch was applied in twenty places at once, and despite the heroic efforts of Chief Engineer Decker and other firemen to save the structure, it was burned to the ground. Emboldened by the progress they had made in lawlessness, the principal body of the rioters, numbering some five thousand men, moved upon the citadel of the oppressor, as they considered the central office of the police in Mulberry street.

To meet this threatening demonstration President Acton detailed Sergeant (afterward Inspector) Daniel Carpenter, a man of great courage and ability, and placed under his command about two hundred policemen who had been held in reserve at that point. It was a duty of supreme importance, and well was it executed. Without unnecessary delay, Carpenter moved his column down Bleeker street to Broadway, at the same time sending a detachment up the nearest parallel streets to the east and west, to strike the flanks of the infuriated mass bearing down upon his front. At the proper moment a combined charge utterly demoralized the undisciplined horde, which, sinking under the well-planted blows of the police, fled in every direction. The street looked like a battlefield, broken heads were countless, and the spoils of war included the stars and stripes and a banner inscribed "No Draft."

As the night closed in, it became evident that the disturbance was too wide-spread and deep-seated to be controlled by clubs, and that re-enforcements must be called for. To this end Mayor Opdyke called for troops upon General Wool, commanding the Department of the East, and General Sandford, of the National Guard. General Wool directed Brev.-Brig.-General Harvey Brown, Colonel of the Fifth U. S. Artillery, commanding the troops in the harbor, to report with his available force to General Sandford of the state militia for duty. General Brown declined to obey what he considered an illegal order, but finally yielded to the solicitations of certain prominent citizens, and agreed to waive a part of the question in dispute, stipulating that he should personally direct the operations of the troops drawn from the military posts under his command, according to his previous assignment by the war department.

General Brown established his headquarters at the central office, remaining there, in active co-operation with the police board, during the continuance of the riot. General Sanford did not attempt to control the operations of the regular troops, but, at the head of some seven hundred men of the militia, temporarily absent from their regiments, proceeded to occupy the state arsenal at Seventh avenue and Thirty-fifth street.

The second and third days were marked by fresh outbursts and much bloodshed: bayonets and bullets were substituted for policemen's billies.



GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT.

The territory of the disturbance had extended to Harlem, and westward beyond Sixth avenue. Evidences of able leadership among the bands of marauders were visible. The roofs of houses became vantage-ground, from which stones were hurled and shots fired at the police and troops in sight. Detachments composed of mixed civil and military forces were sent out from Mulberry street to disperse the more formidable bodies of law-breakers. In one of these encounters Colonel O'Brien of the Eleventh New York volunteers (then on recruiting service in the city), although not assigned to duty with the troops, was conspicuous in opposing the mob near the corner of Second avenue and Thirty-second street. With a disregard of ordinary prudence, he ventured shortly after, alone and in uniform, to return to the same locality. With fiendish glee the roughs seized him, and, after beating him unmercifully, dragged him up and down the street, and finally, after subjecting him to every conceivable abuse, tossed him, covered with filth, into his own back yard, where he expired after lingering without relief for several hours. Among his most cruel persecutors were women, who emulated the worst deeds of the most brutal Indian squaw. Although the insurgents received some salutary checks during the second day, the disorder was far from losing strength. Driven from one section, it quickly made its appearance in another. It gradually crept over to the North river. Public buildings were threatened. The *Tribune*

building received a large share of sinister attention, and the residences of the mayor and other citizens obnoxious to the mob were often in peril. In the meantime the general government had taken precaution in the way of placing gunboats at various points in the waters surrounding the city, and at the Navy yard, to co-operate with the weak land force available. Orders were issued to the Seventh and other city regiments to return home, and quite a large force was under orders in the Army of the Potomac and at Washington to move to New York at a moment's notice. But the admirable arrangements of General Brown and President Acton, and the excellent discipline of the force under their direction, finally prevailed against the unorganized army of anarchy and misrule, and by midnight of the third day the wires reported "All quiet." The backbone of the beast was broken, but nevertheless all good citizens drew a breath of relief when, shortly after, it was known that the Seventh had returned to aid in defending home and fireside.

On the fourth day proclamations were issued by the governor and mayor, the one setting forth the prevalence of insurrection, the other announcing the practical close of hostilities. It became necessary during the day to break up two or three murderously inclined bands, who succumbed only to a free use of canister. In these affairs Captains Franklin and Putnam¹ and Lieutenant Wood of the army distinguished themselves.

¹ "Early on the morning after the battle of Bull Run I started with wine, fruit, and other articles suited to the condition of invalids, and visited the different hospitals about Washington, relieving as far as I could the wounded of our own state. As I was leaving the hospital at Georgetown the surgeon invited me to see a patient who had shown extraordinary endurance. I found a young man upon a cot. The surgeon removed some lint from a musket-ball wound. He then asked the young man to raise himself, so that, while resting upon his elbow, I saw that the ball had passed through his body, avoiding any vital spot. The patient, the surgeon informed me, had, after being the last to leave the field, re-formed the thinned ranks of his company and marched at their head from the battle-ground to their former encampment near Washington, and then reported himself as a wounded officer. Notwithstanding this fearful wound, he was calm and hopeful. He came, as he informed me, from Minnesota, and was in command of a company in a Minnesota regiment. He gave me his name, and I left strongly impressed with the idea that, if his life was spared, he was destined for future usefulness. I went directly to the secretary of war, who directed a commission to be issued for my *protégé*. I went from Secretary Cameron to President Lincoln, who not only cheerfully approved the commission, but was only prevented by pressing duties from taking it over to Georgetown himself. In less than three hours after I left him, Captain Putnam of the Minnesota volunteers found himself designated as Captain Putnam of the United States army. . . . During the sanguinary riots of July, 1863, I was in New York. . . . When sitting at Police Headquarters a United States officer came in who had been directed to disperse the rioters who had murdered Colonel O'Brien. Our recognition was mutual, as was the surprise and the gratification. . . . Captain Putnam, as I learned from the commissioners, continued active and vigilant, making thorough work wherever he went, until the riots were over."—Thurlow Weed, in *Galaxy*, IX. 837.

It was announced by the mayor that the draft had been suspended, while the common council appropriated two million five hundred thousand dollars toward paying six hundred dollars each for substitutes for the poor who might be drafted. In the afternoon the Sixty-fifth and One hundred and fifty-second New York volunteers arrived, and joined the force at Police Headquarters in Mulberry street.

One of the most satisfactory features of the terrible experience through which the city passed at this time was the mutual respect and confidence which existed between the regular troops and the police force combined to preserve law and order. In the final report of the police commissioners a grateful tribute was paid the soldiers, and General Brown, in relinquishing his command to General Canby, said that "having during the present insurrection been in immediate and constant co-operation with the police department of this city, he desires the privilege of expressing his unbounded admiration of it. Never in civil or military life has he seen such untiring devotion and such efficient service."

Order having been restored, the draft was resumed and completed without further interruption, Governor Seymour having issued a proclamation warning the people against disorders, and saying: "I again repeat to you the warning which I gave to you during the riotous proceedings of last month, that the only opposition to the conscription which can be allowed is an appeal to the courts." General Dix, commanding the Department of the East, in a letter to the governor at this time said: "The recent riots in this city, coupled as they were with the most atrocious and revolting crimes, have cast a shadow over it for the moment. But the promptitude with which the majesty of the law was vindicated, and the fearlessness with which a high judicial functionary is pronouncing judgment upon the guilty, have done and are doing much to efface what, under a different course of action, might have been an indelible stain upon the reputation of the city. It remains only for the people to vindicate themselves from reproach in the eyes of the country and the world by a cheerful acquiescence in the law. That it has defects is generally conceded. That it will evolve cases of personal hardship is not disputed. War, when waged for self-defense, for the maintenance of great principles, and for the national life, is not exempt from the sufferings inseparable from all conflicts which are decided by the shock of armies, and it is by our firmness and our patriotism in meeting all the calls of the country upon us that we achieve the victory and prove ourselves worthy of it and the cause in which we toil and suffer." General Fry thus tersely sums up the situation: "The real cause of the riot was that in a commu-

nity where a considerable political element was active in opposition to the way the war was conducted, if not to the war itself, and where there was a strong opinion adverse to the principles of compulsory service, certain lawless men preferred fighting the government at home, when it made the issue of *forcing* them by lot to fight its enemies in the field."

Among the sensational incidents of the spring of 1864 may here be noted the despicable attempt to use the misfortunes of the country for stock-jobbing purposes. It was just after the bloody affair of Cold Harbor, when Grant and Lee, having locked horns in the Wilderness, were taking a breathing spell, and the public suspense was at its height. It was very early in the morning of May 18, 1864, and "steamer-day" in the city, when an unknown messenger appeared at the door of the press-room of the *Journal of Commerce* with what purported to be the telegraphic "copy" of a proclamation by the president. A similar document was handed in to the men in charge of the offices of all the other principal papers. It was an hour calculated to favor the designs of the reckless promoter, but the fraud was discovered in time by all except the *Journal of Commerce* and the *World*. The proclamation was to the effect that "in view of the situation in Virginia, the disasters at Red River, the delay at Charleston, and the general state of the country," it seemed expedient to appoint a day of fasting and humiliation. At the same time



SOLDIERS AND SAILORS' MEMORIAL ARCH, BROOKLYN, N. Y.¹

¹ The beautiful memorial arch here shown was dedicated in Brooklyn, October 21, 1892, to the soldiers and sailors who fought between the years 1861 and 1865. The ceremonies were held immediately after the parade in honor of the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus, the date of the Brooklyn celebration of that event having been set on the date chronologically correct. The arch was designed by John H. Duncan, the architect of the Grant Monument now being erected on Riverside drive.

the emergency required of the president to call for another four hundred thousand men, to be raised within a specified time, by a forced draft if necessary. Immediate and strenuous efforts were made to discover the author of the forgery. The war department ordered the arrest of the editors of the two newspapers mentioned, although upon due representation of the facts by General Dix, commanding the Department of the East, the order was promptly revoked. The final disposition of the matter is stated in a report made by General Dix :

" HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST,
NEW YORK CITY, May 20, 1864.

HON. E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War* :

I have arrested and am sending to Fort Lafayette Joseph Howard, the author of the forged Proclamation. He is a newspaper reporter, and is known as "Howard, of the *Times*." He has been very frank in his confessions, says it was a stock-jobbing operation, and that no person connected with the press had any agency in the transaction except another reporter, who manifolded and distributed the Proclamation to the newspapers, and whose arrest I have ordered. He exonerates the Independent Telegraphic Line, and says that the publication on a steamer-day was accidental. His statement, in all essential particulars, is corroborated by other testimony.

JOHN A. DIX, *Major-General*."

An event of great local importance opened the year 1864. It was the Metropolitan Fair in aid of the United States Sanitary Commission. Like the fairs in other large cities, it was a recognition of the labors of those disinterested men and women who had already sacrificed health and substance in the Union cause by the bedside of sick and wounded soldiers. Large buildings in Fourteenth street and on Union square were filled to overflowing with the rich treasures of art, science, literature, and the varied industries represented in the metropolis, tastefully arranged and classified, and offered for sale to those who, prevented by circumstances from serving in the field, might in this way render aid and comfort to the great cause. The ceremonies of inauguration were impressive, and comprised a parade of all the troops in the city, regular, volunteer, and militia—more than ten thousand men—headed by Generals Dix and Sandford. The main building in Fourteenth street was thrown open to an immense throng on the evening of April 4, 1864, with an address by Joseph H. Choate, and an "Army Hymn," by Oliver Wendell Holmes. The hymn was sung by a chorus composed of the members of the principal church choirs of the city. For three weeks a stream of humanity poured through the entrances to the fair, leaving the rich man's gold and the widow's mite to swell the generous tribute of the Empire City toward the

restoration of the Union. The receipts from the Sanitary Fair at Chicago were sixty thousand dollars; from the fair at Boston, one hundred and forty thousand dollars; from the fair at Cincinnati, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars; and the doors of the Fourteenth street and Union square bazaar closed upon a military chest of more than a million dollars.

In the month of April, 1865, bright with the promise of the season and the achievements of our arms, came that terrible shock, like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky, the assassination of President Lincoln. For the third time in the history of the country a day in April had dawned on the citizens of New York with news of dread import. Lexington—Baltimore—Washington! On the morning of the 15th the people swarmed into the streets, and by common consent sought the government business centre in Wall street. An immense crowd gathered in front of the custom-house; the greatest agitation prevailed; grief at the national loss struggled with indignation at the assassin. The collector of the port, Simeon Draper, with much forethought, and in the interests of law and order, organized an impromptu mass meeting, and several speakers addressed the people. It is an interesting reminiscence, that among those who thus gave expression to the emotions of the hour was one who in after years, and holding the same great office, was to fall a victim to the assassin's bullet—James A. Garfield. Well did he express the universal feeling of his auditors: "The spirit of rebellion, goaded to its last madness, has recklessly done itself a mortal injury, striking down with treacherous blow the kindest, gentlest, tenderest friend the people of the South could find among the rulers of the nation." All business was by common consent suspended. The newspaper and telegraph offices were surrounded by thousands, eager for details of the tragedy which threatened to involve the lives of three officers of the government; the governor and the mayor issued proclamations; the bishop of the diocese directed special services to be held in the Episcopal churches. The day (April 20) which had been set apart by the executive of the state for rejoicing over recent victories, was designated as a time "to acknowledge our dependence on Him who has brought sudden darkness on the land in the very hour of its restoration to union, peace, and liberty."

On the morning of the 21st the funeral cortège started from the Capitol on its sorrowful journey of nearly two thousand miles to the tomb of our country's greatest martyr. After lying in state for a day in historic Independence Hall, the body of the late president was borne to New York, where it was received with the deepest solemnity and the most sincere demonstration of love and grief. The arrangements for the lying in

state at the City Hall were of the most complete character, and for twenty-four hours a continuous procession of men and women, gentle and humble, side by side, passed sadly by the bier. On the second day a pageant of enormous extent attended the transfer of the mortal remains of the "savior of his country" to the train waiting to convey them to their final resting-place. More than sixty thousand soldiers and citizens formed the escort, and more than a million people lined the route. Nothing before

or since transpiring in the city can be compared to the universal and personal sorrow manifested by every soul of that mighty host.



Gen. J. A. Wadsworth

One of the brightest pages in the history of the city and state of New York is that on which are inscribed the names and deeds of their sons and daughters during the war for the Union. A passing reference to a few of the quarter of a million of those who fought for their principles is all that is possible here. First of all, perhaps, stood the noble Wadsworth. His patriotism was unimpeachable; he had vast wealth, high social position, ripeness of years, and gallant sons to represent him in the field. Yet he spared not of his abundance, used his influence to raise and equip troops, led them to battle, and

at the head of his division laid down his life in the service of his country. That his worth was appreciated, the following extract from resolutions adopted by the Union Defense Committee fully testifies:

"When we consider that, from the very beginning of this war, General Wadsworth, a wealthy, cultured, and honored gentleman, impelled by a high sense of duty and of right, left his home of beauty, of luxury, of affection, and of love, to sacrifice every pleasure, to devote his every hour, to spend the weary winter in the frontier camp, to soothe and cheer the homesick, dying soldier, to waste much of his private fortune, to imperil his own health, and finally to offer up his willing life in his country's cause, we can find on the roll of history no record of a braver, truer man, or of a more devoted patriot."

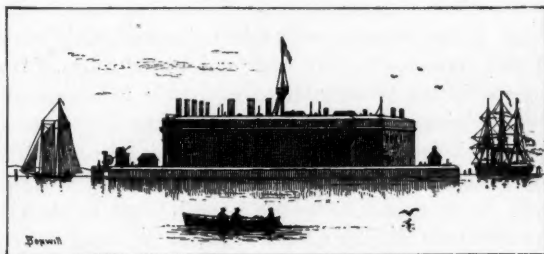
At the suggestion of General Dix, the secretary of war was asked to have one of the forts in the harbor named "Wadsworth" in honor of "one eminently endeared to the people of this state." The fort at the Narrows called Fort Tompkins was eventually designated by the war department as Fort Wadsworth.

Among other sacrifices on the altar of the constitution and the Union,

we recall the gentle and scholarly Winthrop, the dashing Corcoran, the Highlander Cameron, the youthful, fearless Ellsworth, and Mrs. Caroline M. Kirkland. This charming woman and gifted writer, by her tireless and sincere devotion to the work of the Sanitary Fair, gave up her life to the cause of her country as completely as the soldier who fell at the cannon's mouth.

Another great New Yorker, worthy of a place by the side of Wadsworth, has been frequently mentioned in this chapter. None during the serious time of the civil war performed his part with greater resolution, sterner justice, truer dignity, and more unblemished honor than John Adams Dix. The civic robe and the army uniform alike became him.

From the brief sketch given here it will be seen that the Empire City sent forth the last appeal for a peaceful solution of the sectional problem in 1861; that from her gates was forwarded the first relief for beleaguered federal forts; that at the first alarm, her best household regiment marched, with her neighbors of New England, to defend the national capital; and that to those troops, exclusively, was assigned the duty of protecting the White House—the Ark of the Covenant—from threatened danger. Her money was lavishly given, her best blood freely shed; her noblest women hourly strove to restore the Union to its original strength and power; and now, after many years of peace, prosperity, and unity throughout the land, it may truly be said that her labor was not in vain.



FORT LAFAYETTE.

DO WE KNOW GEORGE WASHINGTON?¹

BY LEONARD IRVING.

In his introduction Mr. Lodge quotes Professor McMaster's rather ungracious sneer: "General Washington is known to us, and President Washington; but George Washington is an unknown man." In nothing does the criticism on the author of the *History of the People of the United States* we have somewhere encountered find such illustration or confirmation of its correctness as in these two sentences. Mr. McMaster has given us a brilliant, a vivid account of men's manners and opinions in the period of which he treats, beginning with 1783. But he accomplishes this mainly by reproducing upon his pages, as the result of infinite industry and a wonderful memory, the contemporary expressions or descriptions found in the newspapers of the day. We do, indeed, get a little wearied and confused at the conflicting sentiments which greet us from time to time, and we need to look closely to see just when he shifts the kaleidoscope from one journal or set of opinions to another. Nevertheless, we get a living picture of the days and years of old with their events, and the people moving athwart them. But—and now we come to our critic's remark—our author is lost whenever he ventures away from his kaleidoscope and treats us to an opinion of his own. He then gives us either "something true that is not new, or something new that is not true," and exhibits a woful lack of ordinary or historic judgment.

This is what is the matter with his judgment of Washington. He departs from the region of clear and undoubted facts. He hints and insinuates at possibilities of ugly discovery. He infers great evils from the half dozen occasions when Washington swore deep oaths, which we take leave to say, with a deep abhorrence of habitual profanity, seem to us simply evidences of the vigorous (and none the less Christian) manhood of Washington; for there are moments in such a life as his when the volcanoes of human nature must find an eruption in some such way. Mr. McMaster sneeringly refers to the fact of his refusing a salary, contrasting it with the story of his extorting a few shillings from a poor stone-mason's widow. Now all this is exceedingly disingenuous. Either Mr. McMaster

¹ George Washington. By Henry Cabot Lodge. In 2 vols. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1891. (*American Statesmen Series*.)

should have said a great deal more, and related fully circumstances to corroborate his insinuations, or he should have said nothing at all. The bare innuendo is not at all historical. And neither is it historical to give half a fact or tell half a story. We are glad to see that Mr. Lodge gives the whole of the story about the mason's widow; and it turns out neither to be, nor to indicate by any means, what Professor McMaster would lead us to believe.

The towering excellence and nobility of George Washington is too much for some people. The Athenians, as Mr. Lodge reminds us, grew very tired of the "just" Aristides, and worked the "oyster-shell" scheme to get him out of their sight. "Men who are loudly proclaimed to be faultless," our author justly remarks, "always excite a certain kind of resentment. It is a dangerous eminence for any one to occupy." And so like the vulture, quick to scent carrion, many persons are eager to discover a fault in Washington, and are unduly excited and hurry to conclusions ahead of those the facts will warrant. It is silly to suppose or maintain that Washington was faultless. He was a splendid, healthy-natured man, and no goody-goody prig. But it is mean to be anxious to show that he possessed traits of meanness. The story of the mason's widow half told shatters our idol far worse than twice as many oaths uttered on suitable occasions. Were it really so, a noble nature would hang his head in sorrow; but before hanging the head, such a man would want to know the whole truth. The iconoclast, however, has not time to read the whole story, but is ready with his innuendo at once.

And it is certainly significant, very encouraging to the honest admirers of Washington, and to those nobler natures who rejoice in a character that towers far above them, that one and another of these "bad" stories, as they come to be thoroughly read in all their details, fail after all to throw any real discredit upon our hero. The latest case in point is culled from the daily press at the very time of this writing. A paper was read at a woman's club by a lady; and the report went forth that this lady had proved by Washington's own letters, that he denied his mother's request to visit him or live with him at Mount Vernon, on the ground that he would be ashamed of her before his distinguished guests, and would not take the trouble to have her meals sent to her room by the servants. Now this looked pretty black. The buzzards who like to feed on ruined reputations were delighted, and fastened on this happy revelation at once. One shouted forth his satisfaction in this wise: "If the document is genuine, and its veracity has not been questioned, it would appear that the hero of the hatchet story was not unlike the generality of sons." But

a little caution in receiving, and a little care in investigating, on the part of those who did not quite so much enjoy the odor of carrion, revealed an entirely harmless state of affairs. In the first place, the authoress of the paper read before the woman's club had not drawn the dreadful inferences attributed to her. "She simply meant to illustrate," says one who asked her the question, "the enormous social pressure in those days of which we are prone to think as times of primitive simplicity." And then a perusal of the letter of Washington itself discovers that there is no rude, unfeeling denial of a request, but the most tender solicitude for the comfort, the bodily and mental ease of the aged and devoutly revered parent. Of course, if one has an evil eye, the evil thing may be read in this very letter. But the natural conclusion of the unbiased, well-balanced mind will be such as will leave unsullied the fair reputation of Washington.

And here again, as in the case of Columbus, Irving must come in for his share of the flings from the modern scientific historian. It is a mortal offense for him to have had any admiration for the characters whose life-story he has so charmingly told us. The genial, gentle, noble-minded, pure-hearted gentleman could not but feel an admiration for his heroes. But these qualities are not scientific, exclaim the critics. Perhaps not; but it is quite as undeniable that Irving was also a truth-loving gentleman, and he had science enough to get at the facts as far as it was possible in his day. He had no special faculty for evil interpretation of facts, but he seems to have had some for a right interpretation. At any rate, this latest book on Washington, written by no contemptible historical scholar, leaves the impression of a character quite as grand and lofty as Irving gave us.

If there is one thing which we gain by the reading of Mr. Lodge's volumes, it is the answer to the question suggested by Mr. McMaster's sneer, "Do we know George Washington, as distinct from General and President Washington?" We arise from their perusal with a very clear idea of the real man throughout the entire career, beginning with early youth and manhood, and ending with the years of retirement which preceded death. It is a pity Mr. McMaster could not have read these volumes earlier; but as many of the facts and incidents upon which Mr. Lodge's presentations of the "man" turn are not absent from Irving's earlier pages, it is somewhat surprising that our brilliant historian should have stood in such helpless distress before the real character of Washington, unable to fathom it, troubled with suspicions of coldness and hardness, haunted by possibilities of unutterable meannesses in private, in contrast with splendid generosity in public.

We shall not need, of course, in these pages to tell the story of a life

so familiar as that of Washington. Our aim will be to take our cue, in treating of it at all, from the book under consideration, but with special reference to an attempt to get before our minds George Washington the man, as his personality reveals itself in the great dividing periods of his life: in early youth and manhood; as soldier and general; and, very briefly, as statesman and president.

Of the earlier years of his life little is known, but much has been invented. The cherry-tree business we have all heard about *ad nauseam*. For all this mythology about Washington the world is indebted to Parson Weems. The audacity of this man's lying has immortalized himself, and has immortalized a Washington of Weems, hardly now to be dis severed in any mind from the Washington of reality. Mr. Lodge perhaps wisely has devoted several pages to an elaborate and "premeditated" attempt to kill this Weems as a biographer, but we doubt whether any one book can successfully extinguish the stories which this clergyman has scattered abroad. "To enter into any serious historical criticism of these stories," says Mr. Lodge, "would be to break a butterfly." A whole battery aimed at a butterfly would not be apt to hurt the creature greatly; it would merely be pushed gently out of the way by any current of air pressed on in advance of the heaviest cannon ball that succeeded in crossing its flight. Mr. Lodge's artillery of criticism we are afraid is doomed to the same disappointment. Weems' cherry-tree story still lives.

When Washington is sixteen years of age, and is entrusted with his first serious task—a man's work, even at that early age—we begin to get a more definite idea of who he is. This task was the result of an estimate of Washington by an English nobleman, a thorough man of the world, not easily imposed upon by appearances. And what had Lord Fairfax found in this young man? "A high and persistent courage, robust and calm sense, and, above all, unusual force of will and character." Another glimpse of the real George we obtain before he is twenty years old. His brother Lawrence, from whom he inherited Mount Vernon, being very ill with consumption, he accompanied him on a trip to the West Indies, and they spent some time at Barbadoes. Already had George Washington formed the habit of noting down the happenings of the days as they pass, and these notes unmistakably reflect the writer's character: "All through these notes," our author remarks, "we find the keenly observant spirit, and the evidence of a mind constantly alert to learn. We see also a pleasant, happy temperament, enjoying with hearty zest all the pleasures that youth and life could furnish. He who wrote these lines was evidently a vigorous, good-humored young fellow, with a

quick eye for the world opening before him, and for the delights as well as the instructions which it offered." Thus, on the whole, George Washington appears quite like some one we can understand. There is nothing mythical about him; he is quite a "human" being, like the rest of us, only a little better and stronger than the most of us. Along these lines he will develop as the years go by.

We confess we like such a "human" view of Washington in youth better than the goody-goody myth of Weems. We prefer it even to the well-meant picture of a greater romancer than Weems, but who was such professedly and honestly. Thackeray, in "The Virginians," probably more from a study of the subsequent great man than from an actual knowledge of the facts of his younger days, gives us a fine, but a somewhat priggish and unnatural youth: "Mr. Washington had always been remarked for a discretion and sobriety much beyond his time of life. . . . Himself of the most scrupulous gravity and good breeding, in his communication with other folks he appeared to exact, or, at any rate, to occasion, the same behavior. His nature was above levity and jokes; they seemed out of place when addressed to him. He was slow of comprehending them. His words were always few, but they were always wise; they were not idle as our words are, they were grave, sober and strong, and ready on occasion to do their duty." We can imagine a man like Lord Fairfax taking pleasure in the society of such an oppressively proper young man! It is by no means strange that George Warrington in the novel conceived an intense antipathy to such a model youth; we rather suspect many of us would have done the same ourselves.

But we need not distress our minds with the thought that such was the real George Washington. We get another glimpse of him from Irving's and Lodge's pages, which represents him—so sober, so proper, so simple, etc.—in the light of a *dude*; and we declare we very much like that lighter view, offset as it is by so much that is solid and worthy. Once when he was commander-in-chief of the Virginia colonial troops, or militia, he found his operations for the defense of the frontier interfered with by a captain of the regular army, who, by virtue of the king's commission, refused to obey a field officer who bore but a governor's commission. He commanded all of thirty men, but Washington should not command him. So Washington determined to take a trip north and interview General Shirley at Boston, in order to settle the relations between regular and colonial officers. His fame on account of his conduct at Braddock's defeat had gone before him, and he resolved to make his personal appearance worthy of that fame. His observant eye had noticed the gay dress

of the young officers from England, and he took pains to be as gayly bedight as any of them. He sent to London for "horse furniture with livery lace," a fashionable "gold laced hat," two "complete livery suits for servants," and two "silver laced hats for servants," and other fine belongings for his own accoutrement. He was received with much enthusiasm at Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. At New York he nearly met his fate in the person of the beautiful and rich Mary Philipse, descendant of patroons Frederick and Adolphus Philipse, Dutch colonial magnates for a hundred years past. Upon this whole incident Mr. Lodge comments as follows: "How much this little interlude, pushed into a corner as it has been by the dignity of history, how much it tells of the real man! How the statuesque myth and the priggish myth and the dull and solemn myth melt away before it! Wise and strong, a bearer of heavy responsibility beyond his years, daring in fight and sober in judgment, we have here the other and the more human side of Washington. One loves to picture that gallant, generous, youthful figure, brilliant in color and manly in form, riding gayly on from one little colonial town to another, feasting, dancing, courting, and making merry. For him the myrtle and ivy were entwined with the laurel, and fame was sweetened by youth. He was righteously ready to draw from life all the good things which fate and fortune, then smiling upon him, could offer, and he took his pleasure frankly, with an honest heart."

So much for the George Washington of earlier days. Now, then, do we know him as George Washington during his career as general? Mr. McMaster says he was cold of heart; yet he complains of his occasional oath. As we have already intimated, such outbursts betray the presence of fire somewhere, however well kept under. As Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll (a good authority, doubtless) remarked the other day: "There are times when swearing may be regarded as a virtue, when it is the blossom of indignation. *There are times when volcanic words burst from the crater of the heart.*" George Washington was a man of violent passions, held in magnificent control, liable to break out at critical moments, while the habitual restraint of them necessarily gave him the appearance of "collectedness," perhaps coldness. Says Mr. Lodge: "Let us look a little closer through the keen eyes of one who has studied many faces to good purpose. The great painter of portraits, Gilbert Stuart, tells us of Washington that he never saw in any man such large eye-sockets, or such a breadth of nose and forehead between the eyes, and that he read there the evidences of the strongest passions possible to human nature. John Bernard the actor, a good observer, too, saw in Washington's face, in 1797, the signs of an

habitual conflict and mastery of passions, witnessed by the compressed mouth and deeply indented brow."

This characteristic temper of the man made of him first of all a splendid soldier, a fierce fighter with an ineffable contempt of danger. It was the passionate George Washington who was prepared to fight rather than surrender at Fort Mifflin, although the odds were fearfully against him; and the very boldness of his front made the surrender possible on honorable terms. It was the same George Washington who retrieved, at least for himself, a glorious fame out of an infamous defeat in Braddock's campaign. It was the passionate George Washington who rode up alone into the face of the British troops landing at Kip's bay, New York city, when two or three patriot battalions played the poltroon. It was the same old spirit, dating from Braddock's day and earlier, which bade George Washington as man and soldier ride in between the fire of his own troops and that of the enemy at Princeton, until his aid-de-camp could bear his anxiety no longer, and hid his face in his hat to prevent seeing him fall. And it was just this same fierce fighter who burst out in flaming wrath and angry words against the fool Charles Lee at Monmouth, because he shrunk from giving a hard blow at the enemy at the critical moment, when a hard blow must be successful. This was no time for mincing words; but that it was a time for action, and that a failure to act then was almost treasonable cowardice, is shown by the fact that the day was recovered, even at that unfavorable crisis, by a few prompt soldierly dispositions under the very fire of the enemy. So, last of all, it was still George Washington the soldier, the man of passionate fighting impulses, who broke out into words of anger, that frightened poor private secretary Lear, when General St. Clair, deliberately disregarding the President's latest caution, had allowed himself to be surprised by Indians, so that hundreds of brave men were uselessly slaughtered. It is evident, indeed, that Mr. McMaster does not know George Washington, when he makes this latest of Washington's outbursts of passion the text of his homily on the wickedness of swearing; or, what is worse, the occasion for sly hints as to the possibilities of baseness hidden under publicly known excellences as general and president.

For right here, too, we learn to know the man George Washington further, as most tender-hearted. There is no real brave man, however fierce a fighter when it is time for his blood to be up, who is not also most kindly in his feelings. For let us read all he said when the news of St. Clair's defeat reached him: "To suffer that army to be cut in pieces, hacked, butchered, tomahawked, by a surprise, the very thing I guarded him against! O God! O God! he's worse than a murderer! How can he

answer it to his country? The blood of the slain is upon him, the curse of widows and orphans, the curse of heaven!" Now we do not dare assert that in what Mr. Lodge has to say in comment on this he means to aim a severe blow at Mr. McMaster. He speaks in complimentary terms of him in the introduction. Yet no words could have hit that historian more squarely between the eyes than these: "The description of this scene by an eye-witness *has been in print for many years,*¹ and yet we find people who say that Washington was cold of heart and lacking in human sympathy. What could be more intensely human than this? What a warm heart is here, and what a lightning glimpse of a passionate nature bursting through silence into burning speech!"

But this is all of a piece with the man George Washington long before he was either general or president. While still a young man, commanding on the Virginia frontier, he was harassed by the apathy of the legislators, who contemplated the desolations of Indian warfare with perfect equanimity at a safe distance. Then he wrote: "The supplicating tears of the women and moving petitions of the men melt me into such deadly sorrow that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease." And Mr. Lodge eloquently remarks: "This is one of the rare flashes of personal feeling which disclose the real man, warm of heart and temper, full of human sympathy, and giving vent to hot indignation in words which still ring clear and strong across the century that has come and gone." It would seem that Mr. McMaster's study of contemporary newspapers, including those of the notorious Freneau and Bache, has been so exhaustive that there was no time left for him to consult Washington's own letters. These might have dissipated some of those chilly suspicions awakened by hostile and unscrupulous assailants. *paid* to make assaults upon a character too overwhelmingly great and towering to be quite endurable to such infinitesimal creatures of the dust.

To know the man George Washington as distinct from the general and president, we need perhaps also to get a view of him as a thinker. There have been as wrong impressions as to what he was capable of revolving in his mind as there were regarding his heart and temperament. To know George Washington we must know something of his mind. As to mental equipment he is supposed to occupy a very mediocre place. And it is true that he was not very learned. The classic and the modern languages were unknown to him. Yet he had been a good reader, was well acquainted with history, and understood the force of its examples.

¹ Italics are ours.

But above all learning he had an excellent head; and, as Matthew Arnold truly says: "The valuable thing in letters, that is, in the acquainting oneself with the best which has been thought and said in the world, is the judgment which forms itself insensibly in a fair mind along with fresh knowledge." And this result of letters or reading, which depends entirely upon the excellency of the mind that addresses itself to them, and not upon the amount of learning acquired, was eminently present in the man George Washington. "If you speak of solid information or sound judgment," said Patrick Henry at one time, "Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man in the congress."

This power of mind shone forth both in his generalship and statesmanship. He could see occasions of great and critical importance, when all must be risked if all was not to be lost, and could seize the moment when such occasions became ripe. He could retreat, be a true Fabius, refuse to fight when all the soldier within him burned to fight, and play a skillful game of fence with an antagonist superior in numbers. Thus he withdrew through New Jersey before Cornwallis. But then at the right instant he struck the blows at Trenton and at Princeton. "Moreover," as Mr. Lodge observes, "these battles show not only generalship of the first order, but great statesmanship. . . . By Trenton and Princeton Washington inflicted deadly blows upon the enemy, but he did far more by reviving the patriotic spirit of the country, fainting under the bitter experience of defeat, and by sending fresh life and hope and courage throughout the whole people." And he adds: "To the strong brain growing ever keener and quicker as the pressure became more intense, to the iron will gathering force as defeat thickened, to the high, unbending character, and to the passionate and fighting temper of Washington, we owe the brilliant campaign which in the darkest hour turned the tide and saved the cause of the Revolution."

George Washington's generalship again shone brightly in the campaign which included the two battles of the Brandywine and Germantown. Both were defeats; but the force of the enemy was overwhelming and their appointments perfect, while Washington's army was small and wretchedly equipped. It was the wonder of European military men such as Frederick the Great, that such an army as Washington's after the defeat at Brandywine should have been ready to take the offensive at Germantown, and so nearly snatch victory. While, besides all this, the Fabian policy was deliberately laid aside with a far-seeing purpose: it was necessary to keep Howe from going to the aid of Burgoyne. It was incredible to Washington that he should have gone off on the expedition to Philadelphia at that

juncture. But being there, he saw the necessity of keeping him busy, and he did it, and thus indirectly Burgoyne's surrender was made possible by the operations of the commander-in-chief. And as for skill and promptness in combination, the power of bold and rapid striking, as well as that of seeing the vital point where to strike and crush, the whole campaign issuing in the surrender of Yorktown affords a clear example. "It was a bold stroke to leave Clinton behind at the mouth of the Hudson," says Mr. Lodge, commenting on this campaign, "and only the quickness with which it was done, and the careful deception which had been practiced, made it possible. Once at Yorktown, there was little more to do. The combination was so perfect, and the judgment had been so sure, that Cornwallis was crushed as helplessly as if he had been thrown before the car of Juggernaut. There was really but little fighting, for there was no opportunity to fight. Washington held the British in a vice, and the utter helplessness of Cornwallis, the entire inability of such a good and gallant soldier even to struggle, are the most convincing proofs of the military genius of his antagonist."

Even before the career of the general was quite finished, George Washington begins to loom upon the vision as an enlightened, far-seeing, practical, patriotic statesman. He rose above his surroundings, the true sign of a great mind, whether it have learning or not. While men all around him—men even like Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry—were bursting with sectional jealousies, and paralyzing the confederation by the narrow-minded assertion and the more mischievous application of the principle of states' rights, Washington's clear eye was already fixed upon a national existence. Cherishing himself a truly national spirit, he saw far ahead the need of a strong national government. Taking farewell of the several governors as commander-in-chief of the army he wrote: "If a spirit of disunion, or obstinacy and perverseness, should in any of the states attempt to frustrate all the happy effects that might be expected to flow from the union, that state which puts itself in opposition to the aggregate wisdom of the continent will alone be responsible for all the consequences. . . . It is indispensable to the happiness of the individual states that there should be lodged somewhere a supreme power to regulate and govern the general concerns of the confederated republic, without which the union cannot be of long duration, and everything must very rapidly tend to anarchy and confusion." This voice of warning was unheeded, the anarchy and confusion came, and then at last the people learned to see the wisdom of George Washington. Then came the Constitution, and after it the government. And constantly the mind of Washington penetrated to the

necessities of each situation as it arose, and by the clearness of his vision was enabled to start the United States upon a career of national being and prosperity which still very closely follows the lines laid down by him, or with his intelligent approval.

Mr. Lodge apologizes at the close of his volumes for their generally eulogistic tone—"a tone of almost unbroken praise." "If this be so," he says, "it is because I could come to no other conclusions, . . . and although my deductions may be wrong, they at least have been carefully and slowly made." These deductions cannot be so very wrong, when we contemplate, in conclusion, the words in which Mr. Lecky, the English historian, speaks of Washington in his latest book: "In civil as in military life, he was pre-eminent among his contemporaries for the clearness and soundness of his judgment, for his perfect moderation and self-control, for the quiet dignity and the indomitable firmness with which he pursued every path which he had deliberately chosen. Of all the great men in history he was the most invariably judicious, and there is scarcely a rash word or action or judgment recorded of him. . . . In the dark hour of national ingratitude, and in the midst of the most universal and intoxicating flattery, he was always the same calm, wise, just, and single-minded man, pursuing the course which he believed to be right, without fear or favor or fanaticism; equally free from the passions that spring from interest, and from the passions that spring from imagination. . . . He was in the highest sense of the words a gentleman and a man of honor, and he carried into public life the severest standard of private morals."

Other men have been made great by position or success. George Washington was great before he reached these, in the simple majesty of his splendid, symmetrical manhood. He was General Washington, and he was President Washington; but he was George Washington before either. And it is as George Washington that the world *knows* him, and, *knowing him*, admires and loves.

As illustrating the keen appreciation by Washington of the patriotism of men in every section of the country, and how he could pour forth unstinted praise of it wherever found, we present the letter of which a facsimile in part appears on the following page. The occasion of its writing was the receipt of a letter from a number of New York gentlemen, dated November 26, 1783—or the day after the evacuation—expressing their gratification at being once more restored to their city, and attributing that restoration, under Providence, to his "Wisdom and Energy," and

Gentlemen, I thank You sincerely for your affectionate Address, and entreat You to be persuaded that nothing could be more agreeable to me than your polite Congratulations. Permit me, in Turn, to felicitate You on the happy Repossession of your City. Great as your Joy must be on this pleasing Occasion, it can scarcely exceed that which I feel, at seeing You, Gentlemen, who from the noblest Motives have suffered a voluntary Exile of many Years, return again in Peace & Triumph to enjoy the Fruits of your virtuous Conduct.

May the Tranquility of your City be perpetual - May the Ruins soon be repaired: Commerce flourish Science be fostered, and all the civil and social Virtues be cherished, in the same illustrious Manner which formerly reflected so much Credit on the Inhabitants of New York. In fine, may every Species of Felicity attend You Gentlemen & your worthy fellow Citizens.

G. Washington

assuring him: "that we shall preserve with our latest breath our gratitude for your services, and veneration for your character." The full text of Washington's reply (of which one paragraph is omitted from the facsimile) is as follows:

GENTLEMEN, I thank you sincerely for your affectionate Address, and intreat You to be persuaded that nothing could be more agreeable to me than your polite Congratulations: Permit me, in Turn, to felicitate you on the happy Repossession of your City. Great as your joy must be on this pleasing occasion, it can scarcely exceed that which I feel, at seeing you, Gentlemen, who from the noblest Motives have suffered a voluntary Exile of many years, return again in Peace & Triumph to enjoy the fruits of your Virtuous Conduct.

The Fortitude and Perseverance which you and your suffering Brethren have exhibited in the Course of the War, have not only endeared You to your Countrymen, but will be remembered with Admiration and Applause to the latest Posterity.

May the Tranquility of your City be perpetual. May the Ruins soon be repaired, Commerce flourish, Science be fostered, and all the civil and social Virtues be cherished, in the same illustrious Manner, which formerly reflected so much Credit on the Inhabitants of New York. In fine, may every species of Felicity attend You Gentlemen, & your worthy fellow Citizens.

G^o WASHINGTON



THE STRUGGLE OF TEXAS FOR INDEPENDENCE

BY WILLIAM H. MAYES

The history of the various states of the Union is so blended with that of the nation that characteristic individuality is largely lost, but Texas has a history peculiarly and distinctly its own. The weird story of the brief struggle of the early pioneers of Texas for independence from Mexican oppression seems more like a chivalric romance of the early times than a true record of stern realities of the present century. The Texas campaign of 1836 furnishes one of the most interesting and remarkable chapters in



GENERAL SANTA ANNA.

American history, yet, strange to say, the great masses of the people know but little of its tragic defeats and resplendent achievements.

The permanent settlement and colonization of the territory of Texas by Anglo-Americans dates from July 16, 1821, the day on which Stephen F. Austin first entered the wilderness with thirteen hardy pioneers and selected the rich valleys of the Brazos and Colorado rivers for the occupancy of his colony, after having made, as he thought, all the necessary preliminary arrangements with the territorial governor at San Antonio. Arriving with his colony the latter part of the year,

he learned that it would be necessary for him to visit the City of Mexico to secure the sanction of the newly inaugurated republican government. Leaving the colony in charge of Josiah H. Bell, Austin proceeded to the City of Mexico, but the unsettled state of Mexican affairs made it necessary for him to remain a whole year to secure the passage of satisfactory colonization laws. So favorable were these that numerous colonial grants were applied for; settlements were rapidly opened, and the pioneers enjoyed a brief era of prosperity, only interrupted by occasional depredations of roving bands of Indians. The government of Mexico was at first very friendly to the Austin colony. For six years it was exempted from taxation, duties, and customs, while many other liberal concessions were made in the grants.

The first revolt against Mexico followed a decree of April 6, 1830, issued by President Bustamante. It prohibited any further emigration from the United States to Texas, directed that Mexican convicts should be transported to Texas (thus converting the province into a penal colony), and ordered the opening of custom-houses and the collection of onerous taxes and duties. The military sent to enforce these orders was successfully repulsed and driven from the territory. Santa Anna had engaged about this time in a civil war with Bustamante for the restoration of the Mexican republican constitution of 1824, and there was great rejoicing in the colony when he assumed the presidency in March, 1833.

The republican government of Mexico consisted of several quasi-independent states, and the province had been attached as a territory to Coahuila "until Texas possessed the necessary elements to prove a separate state of herself." The legislature of Texas was composed of ten deputies from Coahuila and two from Texas, and all legislation became decidedly unfavorable to the colonists. The latter prepared a memorial, setting forth the reasons why Texas should be separated from Coahuila, and have a state government of her own. Austin was delegated to convey the proposed constitution to the City of Mexico and to urge upon the government the admission of Texas into the Mexican confederacy. When he arrived in the city, Santa Anna was in the midst of his plans for changing the form of government from a republic to centralized despotism, and already several states had been reduced to submission.

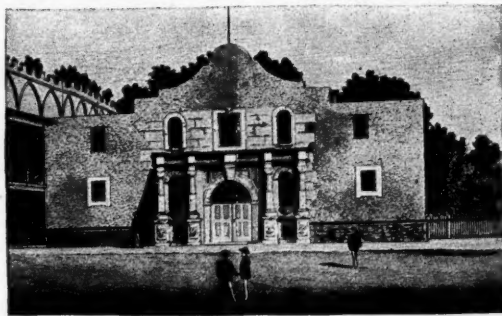
He was alarmed at the rapid progress Texas had made in so short a time, and to more effectually place the territory at a disadvantage, Austin was arrested and incarcerated in a foul dungeon, without books or writing material, "where for many months he never saw a ray of sunshine nor the hand that gave him food." The Mexican dictator was alarmed by the superior industry, thrift, enterprise, and invention of the colonists, and regretted that they had been invited to Texas, preferring that, if occupied at all, it should be occupied by savages, who would effectually cut off all communication and intercourse with a people who seemed to love hardships, and who possessed such restless energy that they prospered under the severest reverses. While he was confident of his ability to subjugate the Mexican states he began to fear that the progress and civilization of these people would make a reign of despotism difficult, and that it might eventually blot out of existence his own barbarous government.

Austin's petition was refused, and an army of four thousand men ordered to Texas on a pretense of protecting the coast and frontier, but in reality to carry forward a war of extermination. The uncalled-for incarcer-

ation of Austin, and the sending of military forces, as the only response to the request for separate state government, served to kindle the flame that had long been smoldering; and when Santa Anna issued an order commanding the people to surrender their private arms, thereby exposing their wives and children to the mercy of unfeeling savages, as well as to the horrors of starvation (many being dependent on wild game for their daily food), the final stroke of despotic tyranny had been delivered. The will of the oppressed subjects refused longer to bow to that of so merciless a ruler, and Texans unitedly resolved on freedom from Mexican misrule. The same spirit of independence that had been instilled in the breasts of the early settlers of the United States had found a warm place in the bosoms of these descendants of a hardy race of pioneers.

It was a desperate measure, but the colonists saw in it their only hope of saving themselves and families from further oppression, and their country from the despotic sway of tyrannical monarchism; therefore, with a total citizenship of scarcely two thousand able-bodied men, Texas, in convention, on March 2, 1833, formally declared her independence of Mexico—a country with a magnificent array of trained warriors. Santa Anna,

now having subdued in turn each state of the republic, had already invaded the province in person with a well-equipped army of eight thousand men, to reduce to subjection and chastise these self-willed subjects, and thereby perfect his right to the self-styled appellation, the "Napoleon of the West."



THE ALAMO.

The Texas army having captured San Antonio, the Mexican seat of government, in December, and having driven the Mexican forces from the city and taken possession of the fort of the Alamo, Santa Anna first directed his attention to retaking San Antonio, and atoning for the disgraceful defeat of the Mexican army.

He came upon the town February 23, and the garrison, under command of Colonel W. B. Travis, at once withdrew to the Alamo, a structure fortified soon after the Spaniards settled that part of Texas, and used as a place of safety for the settlers and their property in case of Indian hos-

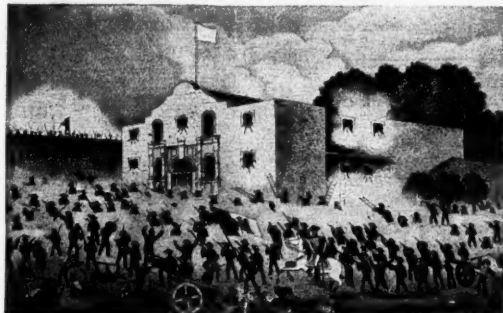
tility. It had neither the strength, arrangement, nor compactness of a regular fortification. The chapel was seventy-five feet long, sixty-two wide, twenty-two and a half high, surrounded by walls of solid masonry four feet thick. It was one story in height, with upper windows, underneath which were platforms for mounting cannon. There was a barrack, one hundred and eighty-six feet long, connected with the church, and another one hundred and fourteen feet in length. These were eighteen feet high, and, like the chapel, built of solid masonry. The fortifications were manned by fourteen guns, but they were so situated at the windows that they were of little use for a close engagement.

On Sunday, March 6, a little after midnight, the Mexican army, four thousand strong, marched to their assigned places for the final attack. At four o'clock the bugle sounded. The Mexican forces rushed upon the fort and were met by a shower of grape and rifle-balls. Twice the assailants fell back in dismay. Santa Anna put himself in front of his men, and with shouts and oaths led them to the third charge. Above the clash of arms and the roar of battle could be heard the assassin notes of DeQuello, "No quarter!" When they reached the foot of the wall ladders were placed in position, and the Mexican officers forced their men to ascend them. Man after man, column after column, made the attempt to scale the walls, only to fall to the ground, stabbed or shot down by the Texans. But the feeble garrison, worn out by sheer exhaustion, could not long withstand the assault of such overwhelming numbers; a breach was made, the defense of the outer wall was abandoned, and the garrison took refuge in the chapel, where further retreat was impossible, and where each group of brave men fought and died on the spot where it was brought to bay.

Travis, Crockett, Bowie (names that will be ever honored in history), together with the entire band of one hundred and eighty-three, were cruelly slaughtered after the most bitter resistance. Mrs. Dickinson, her infant child, and a negro servant were the only ones spared, every combatant being put to the sword. "Thermopylæ had its messenger of defeat, but the Alamo had none." The bodies of the Texans were collected in a huge pile and burned, and as the Sabbath sun sank in the west, the smoke from that funeral pyre of heroes ascended to heaven.

General Urrea had advanced along the Texas coast simultaneously with Santa Anna's march on San Antonio. He proceeded by way of San Patricio to Goliad, where Colonel J. W. Fannin was in command of about four hundred men, mostly of the Georgia battalion. Fannin was taken by surprise at the approach of Urrea's army, and realizing the folly of resisting so large a force, made a retreat, but was intercepted at Colita creek.

Two assaults were successfully repulsed by the little army, but the desperate condition of the forces compelled them to surrender, which they did, on condition that they should be treated as prisoners of war in civilized countries and be sent at once to the United States. The prisoners were taken back to Goliad, where, on the morning of March 27, without previous



SIEGE OF THE ALAMO, MARCH 6, 1836.

warning and under pretext of starting them home, they were marched out in four companies, strongly guarded, and when a short distance from the walls were halted and shot. Those who were not instantly killed were dispatched with sabres, except a few who made their escape. History furnishes no record of a more cruel massa-

cre. Santa Anna offered no excuse, for there was none.

When Santa Anna learned that the capture of the Alamo had been followed by the massacre of Fannin's entire force, he thought the conquest of Texas effected, and was preparing to return to his capital and leave his two trusted generals to complete the reorganization of the government of the conquered province. But hearing that Houston, with a considerable army, was encamped on the Colorado river, he concluded to remain and complete his conquest and return to Mexico in martial style, the hero of the continent, the "Napoleon of the West."

The slaughter at the Alamo and the massacre at Goliad stirred to the very depths the blood of every Texas citizen. They saw that Santa Anna's policy was one of extermination, and that he did not hesitate to undertake any form of cold-blooded barbarity. The army was now reduced to less than eight hundred able-bodied men, but they determined to risk their lives for Texas independence, sharing, if need be, the fate of their brave comrades under Travis and Fannin. The women and children of Texas were dependent on this little force of soldiers for their lives, and this was inspiration enough to make the Texans feel that they could meet and conquer on the battlefield any host of Mexicans that could be arrayed against them. The remaining army was hastily gathered together, and the women and children placed under the protection of the soldiers. A hasty march was

made to the junction of Buffalo Bayou with the San Jacinto river, where a suitable position was selected to intercept Santa Anna's army, then advancing upon San Jacinto. Vince's Bridge furnished the only means of escape from the country for a vanquished army. This, at best, was a very insecure exit for retreating troops, but the Texans thought only of victory in front of them, protection for their families, and revenge for the loss of their countrymen. The little army was drawn up on the banks of the river in a beautiful live-oak grove, and eloquently addressed by General Sam Houston, the sturdy and beloved commander, who at the close of an impassioned appeal gave them, as the battle-cry, "Remember the Alamo!" The words were at once taken up by every man in the army, and one unanimous shout pierced the very vault of heaven, "Remember the Alamo! Remember the Alamo!" while the green island of prairie trees echoed and repeated the cry, "Remember the Alamo!" They did not have long to wait. Their eloquent leader had scarcely concluded his address when the scouts came flying into camp and announced that Santa Anna's army was approaching. This was at ten o'clock on April 20. The remainder of that day was spent in skirmishing, and it was not until three o'clock the next afternoon that decisive action was taken. The conscious disparity in numbers served only to increase the enthusiasm and confidence of the Texas forces and heighten their anxiety for the conflict.

The moment had come for victory or defeat, for independence or death. The war-cry was sounded, and the shout of an united army rent the air with the inspiring words, "The Alamo! The Alamo!" General Houston, riding in front, called out, "Come on, my fearless braves, your general leads you!" At this moment Deaf Smith dashed along the lines, swinging an axe over his head and shouting, "I have cut down Vince's Bridge! Now fight for your lives and remember the Alamo!" The Texas army advanced to within sixty paces of the Mexican lines, when a storm of bullets went flying over their heads. The volley was not answered until a shower of lead was poured into the bosoms of the Mexicans. The Texans



GENERAL SAM HOUSTON.

charged with the fury of madmen, and were soon engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict, using their guns as clubs, and with bowie knives literally carving their way through the lines of living flesh.

The Mexicans were overcome by the very fierceness of their foes, and in fifteen minutes the battle was ended and independence was won. Only eight Texans had lost their lives and but thirty had been wounded. Nearly seven hundred Mexicans had perished on the battlefield, three hundred had been wounded, and eight hundred captured, by an army scarcely exceeding seven hundred. Santa Anna was captured and was held a prisoner of war for several months.

Scarcely in the world's history is there a record of such disastrous defeats, followed so closely by so renowned a victory; seldom has a successful war for independence terminated so soon after its inception, and never elsewhere has so grand a victory been achieved under such unfavorable circumstances. On the one side was arrayed a paid military, well clothed, armed with all the military equipments of the age, trained to warfare, and encouraged by the personal command of their ruler; while on the other were a few desperate pioneers, poorly clad, half starved, without suitable arms, disheartened at the loss of their countrymen at the Alamo and at Goliad, but fighting with all the determination that could be inspired by unjust oppression, the slaughter of relatives and friends, the perilous situation of the country, and the threatened destruction of their homes and their helpless wives and children.

Heaven could not but smile on so noble a warfare, and enter the decree, "Justice has won and the victory is yours."

TEXAS

Up the hillside, down the glen,
Rouse the sleeping citizen;
Summon out the might of men!

Like a lion growling low,—
Like a night-storm rising slow,—
Like the tread of unseen foe,—

It is coming,—it is nigh!
Stand your homes and altars by;
On your own free thresholds die.

Whoso shrinks and falters now,
Whoso to the yoke would bow,
Brand the craven on his brow!

—WHITTIER

Hymn of The Alamo
air: "Marsillien".

"Rise, man the wall, our clarion's blast,
Now sounds its final reveille.
This dawning morn must be the last
Our fated band shall ever see.
To life, but not to hope fare well,
Yon trumpets clang, and cannons peal,
And storming shout and clash of steel
Are ours but not our country's knell.
Welcome the Spartans' death—
Tis no despairing strife—
We fall, we die, but our expiring breath
Is Freedom's breath of life!"

"Here, on this new Thermopylae
Our monument shall tower on high,
And 'Alamo' hereafter be
In bloodier fields the battle cry!"
Thus Travis from the rampart cried
And when his warriors saw the foe
Like whelming billows move below,
At once each dauntless heart replied,
"Welcome the Spartans' death—
Tis no despairing strife—
We fall, we die, but our expiring breath
Is Freedom's breath of life."

They come—like autumn's leaves they fall,
Yet hordes on hordes, they onward rush,
With gory tramp they mount the wall
Till hammers the defenders crush,
Till falls their flag whom none remain,
Well may the Russians quake to tell.
How Travis and his hundred fell
Amid a thousand foemen slain!
They died the Spartans' death,
But not in hopeless strife—
Like brothers died and their expiring breath
Was Freedom's breath of life.

With the authors compliments to Judge Bell

Richard M. Potter

THE REVOLUTIONARY TROUBLES AND COMMERCE

BY JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

The capture of Montreal by General Amherst on September 8, 1760, completed the conquest of New France in America. The capitulation of Vaudreuil included all Canada, which was said "to extend to the crest of land dividing branches of Erie and Michigan from those of the Miami, the Wabash, and the Illinois rivers."

William Pitt, the master spirit of the war, was not satisfied with this partial subjection, and looked to English domination in the West Indies, as well as on the mainland. The sugar islands, as they were called, were a prolific source of trade and wealth. Angered by information of a special convention between France and Spain, which, concluded in secret on August 15, 1761, threatened war in the coming spring, the great minister resolved to seize the remainder of the French West India islands, especially Martinique, and to capture Havana. These conquests were to be followed by that of Panama, and of the Philippine islands. The Spanish monopoly in the New World was to be forever destroyed. The cabinet refusing to support his war measures,—which were, to withdraw the British ambassador from Madrid, and, by intercepting the Spanish treasure-galleons, to cripple the resources of Spain,—Pitt resigned the seals, October 6, 1761. But the diplomacy of Choiseul, inducing Spain to join with France in a demand upon Portugal to break off alliance with Great Britain, compelled a declaration of war by England, which was formally proclaimed on January 4, 1762. The desires of Pitt were shortly fulfilled by the capture of Martinique from the French on February 14, 1762, by an armament from New York under General Robert Monckton, governor of that province, supported by Admiral Rodney with a British fleet; and on July 30 following, (1762), of the city of Havana from Spain by an army sent from England under command of the Earl of Albemarle (under whom Carleton and Howe served), aided by Admiral Pococke with a powerful fleet. The first of these conquests was of Pitt's planning. Its reduction was followed by that of its dependent islands, comprising Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Tobago—which included the possession of all the Caribbee isles. To recover something of their prestige, and at least to maintain a claim on the fishing banks, the French attacked and reduced St. John's, the capital of Newfoundland; but were soon dis-

lodged by an expedition under command of Lord Admiral Colville and Colonel Amherst, ordered thither by Sir Jeffrey Amherst.

With these acquisitions England dictated the terms of peace, and remodeled the political state of America at her will. Spain gave up the Floridas, which completed the English possession of the Atlantic coast from Cape Breton to the Gulf of Mexico, and in compensation France ceded New Orleans to Spain, with Louisiana west of the Mississippi. As to the West India captures, England restored Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Marie Galante to France, and Cuba with Havana to Spain. Spain abandoned and France retained rights on the northern fisheries. Preliminaries for peace on these bases, between France and Spain on the one side, and England and Portugal on the other, were signed at Fontainebleau on November 3, 1762; and the definitive treaty, known as the Treaty of Paris, received signature at that city on February 10, 1763. Had Pitt remained in power, not a vestige of European power, other than the British, would have remained on the North American continent.

In every one of these conquests, even in that of Havana, the colonies had taken an active, in some a decisive, part. They had been the mainstay of Pitt's policy, and had voted men and money without stint at his call, in full faith in his purpose and his power. His fall from power was the shadow which fell upon their triumph at the peace. The fact is a familiar one, that the war had enormously increased the national debt of Great Britain, and the matter next in order was how to raise the money to pay it, or at least its interest. Upon this pressing question and the manner of answering it hinged the issue of events during the next score of years.

Lord Halifax, and the other gentlemen of the Board of Trade and Plantations, to whom was intrusted the direction of affairs in the colonies, had matured, even while the war was in progress, a scheme for governing America and of raising a revenue in the colonies. Their plans were interrupted by the death, in October, 1760, of George the Second. The enforced retirement of Pitt followed the next October, 1761. The plan of the Board of Trade was to lower and collect the duties prescribed by the Sugar Act of 1733. By this act there was laid a tariff on the products of the islands—rum, sugar, and molasses—imported into any of the English colonies, and a drawback on all sugars refined in and exported from Great Britain, over and above all previous drawbacks and bounties; a provision which, apparently for the benefit of the English, and probably instigated by the Scotch refiners, struck a blow at this now thriving business in the New York colony.

The encroachments of the home government on the chartered rights and the unchartered liberties of the colonies, reached every branch of government. It is difficult, therefore, to measure the discontent with each, but an effort will be made to confine this study to the Acts of Trade. Massachusetts opposed the writs of assistance to officers of the customs; New York, the assumption of the crown to appoint the judiciary; Virginia, the attempt to enforce upon her a continuance of the traffic in slaves, which England had monopolized by one of the conditions of the Treaty of Paris. All alike, having seaports, resisted the enforcement of the Acts of Trade by the court of admiralty, which, by its nature, was independent of the provinces and answerable only to the king.

The restrictions of the Acts of Trade applied not only to the colonies, but also to Ireland, and in that application injured the colonies. No ship from its harbors could cross the Atlantic, nor could it send any of its products or manufactures except these were in English bottoms. The navigation acts of Charles II. were strictly prohibitive of export: of woolens, by that of William III., and later by statute of George II., 1732. Export of linen was permitted by Anne, 1704, and again by George II., 1715. Importation could only be made of colonial produce through or from England. The Sugar Act of George II., 1733, just quoted, by its first section forbade this importation except from Great Britain only.

The existing duty on the trade of the colonies with the French and Spanish islands was prohibitory from its excess, but was regularly evaded by connivance between the merchants and the British officials, from governors to customs officers. In March, 1763, Charles Townshend, First Lord of Trade, and charged with the administration of the colonies, formulated the long-meditated plan of reducing this duty and enforcing its collection. Parliament was anxious for it, as it was known that the collection of less than two thousand pounds revenue in America cost the British customs establishment between seven and eight thousand pounds a year. In the same month George Grenville, then First Lord of the Admiralty, supplemented this bill with one giving authority to employ the ships and officers of the navy as custom-house officers, guards, and informers. It is not probable that the Americans would have revolted against these or any other customs regulations. They would have evaded them. They did evade them, and quarreled with the modes of their enforcement, but they did not deny the right to Parliament to levy its customs and to collect them. But the revenue from the customs, with the restricted trade and the lowered duties, was insufficient for the support of the British military establishment.

In this dilemma the Lords of the Treasury, in September, 1763, ordered the draft of a bill to extend the stamp duties to the colonies. In the interim between this first design of the Stamp Act and the royal assent by commission, George the Third being then retired in a fit of insanity (March 22, 1765), stringent measures were taken to enforce the acts of navigation. The American illicit trade with the sugar islands and the Spanish main, which, in the mild language of Bancroft, "custom had established in the American ports [as] a compromise between the American claim to as free a trade as the English, and the British acts of restriction," was very large: it being estimated that of one million and a half pounds of tea consumed each year in the colonies, not more than one-tenth part came from England.

Passing over the familiar subjects of the non-importation agreements, the action of the inhabitants of Boston, New York, Charleston, and other cities, in regard to the tea ships, and the initial events of the Revolutionary war—a matter of great interest and of special bearing on the present study is that of privateering during the war, both on the part of the English and the Americans.

The British naval service had become so irksome and distasteful to the sailors that Admiral Arbuthnot had to resort to extreme measures to keep his vessels manned. As a final resort he laid an embargo on all shipping. In September, 1779, on assuming command, he had declared by proclamation: "That in future for every seaman or seafaring man that may desert from the king's ships or transports, I will press man for man out of the privateers and merchant vessels." This continued as a standing notice, and was published in all the newspapers at New York.¹ The merchants, distressed by the embargo and anxious to be relieved from the daily expense accumulating on ships and goods, applied to Sir Henry Clinton, the commander-in-chief. Colonel William Tryon, who had been colonial governor, and continued to serve in the British army after the outbreak of the Revolution, also plainly set forth to Admiral Arbuthnot that his proclamation, however well intended or proper for the prevention of desertion

¹ There were three newspapers in New York in 1772: *The New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, printed by Hugh Gaine, printer and bookseller and stationer, in the Bible and Crown, in Hanover Square (established August 3, 1752, discontinued October 13, 1783); *The New York Journal, or The General Advertiser*, "containing the freshest articles both Foreign and Domestick," printed and published by John Holt, on Hunter's Quay, Rotten Row (established May 29, 1766, discontinued in 1785); *The New York Gazette or Weekly Post Boy*, "containing the freshest Advices Foreign and Domestick," established by James Parker in January, 1742-3—August 27, 1770. Samuel Inslee and Anthony Carr published this paper and continued it two years.—Isaiah Thomas, *History of Printing in America*.

from the king's ships, could not fail to damp the ardor of the merchants and the privateers. These demonstrations resulted in the relief desired. Not long after, Governor James Robertson, who was the Governor of New York province, so far as he could govern it during the war—advised Lord George Germaine that he was “in hopes soon to be able to revive the spirit of privateering.”

It was necessary that the system so effective on the American side, should be set off by an equally effective one on the side of the British. As Governor Robertson wrote: “The obstructions to their trade had given the rebels but too many opportunities lately of carrying into their ports many of our ships and great numbers of their own.” Insurance also had risen greatly. From the beginning of the war the rates had been high, but now were extreme. On February 17, 1778, the Duke of Richmond stated in Parliament: “The price of insurance to the West Indies and North America is increased from two to two and one-half, and five per cent., with convoy; but without convoy and unarmed the said insurance has been made at fifteen per cent. But, generally, ships under such circumstances can not be insured at all.”

Privateers in large numbers issued constantly from the harbors of New England. But the successes of this class of patriotic fighters were not confined to the exploits of the vessels fitted out in New England. One of the boldest achievements of the war took place in May, 1780. On the 24th, four American privateers, three of which were from New London, caught sight of the Carteret packet from Falmouth, and giving chase, ran her on shore at Sandy Hook, although she was armed with twenty-two nine-pounders. Captain Newman of the packet barely escaped with his mail, being pursued in his row-boat for several leagues. The packet's remains were sold at auction in July. The Chamber of Commerce generously rewarded Captain Newman with a piece of plate of twenty guineas' value, with their arms thereon, for his “attention and prudence in saving and bringing at all hazards his mail to New York,” all of which was duly engraved. A short time after this daring feat the Mercury packet, Captain Dillon, was captured and taken into Philadelphia, and the cutter of the Hon. Major Cochrane was attacked off the Hook. Again, in the early part of June the Comet and the Hawk, cruising in company, were chased by a British warship. The Hawk was driven on shore on Long Island and stranded. The Comet burned her wreck, took off or spiked her guns, and continuing her cruise off Sandy Hook about two miles, cut out three schooners and five sloops, all of which Captain Kemp brought safe into Philadelphia, with twenty-eight prisoners.

As the war went on another class of privateers appeared. These were the New York whale-boat men, led by Captain Hyler, the first captain of the Whaling Company, whose business had been arrested by the war. The shallow waters about New York bay afforded safe harbor and refuge to those light craft. The Shrewsbury river was the favorite resort of Captain Hyler. From these waters, which are a continuation of Sandy Hook bay, he watched the fisheries on the Shrewsbury banks, which were a main source of supply for the New York market, and pounced upon the fishing smacks as a fish-hawk on its prey, at his pleasure. His habit was to capture the vessels, seize their cargoes, let them go free for a ransom of one hundred dollars, and recapture them if they appeared again. He neither allowed commutation nor granted passes.

The exploits of the regular privateers, as well as of these whale-boat men, gave rise to a rather sharp interchange of opinions between the Chamber of Commerce and Admiral Arbuthnot. In a memorial addressed to him they advise that "a couple of fast-sailing frigates constantly cruise between Delaware and Block Island, and making the light house at Sandy Hook once or twice a week as the winds might permit, would effectually protect the trade of this port from all invaders." They state also the importance of the fishery upon the banks of the Shrewsbury to the New York garrison, and say that "unless a proper armed vessel can be appointed daily to protect the fishermen from the gun and whale boats that are preparing upon the adjacent shores to attack them, they will find it impracticable to pursue that business." The Americans had found the fault in the armor of the supposed invulnerable foe.

To this representation Arbuthnot replied from his flagship, the Royal Oak, off New York, that his frigates had been constantly cruising off the bar, and between the points named by the chamber; but that so limited was his force, that it had not been in his power to "station a single frigate for the protection of the trade bound to Halifax, a port not inferior to any in America." Referring to the second topic, he added: "With respect to the protection of the fishermen employed on the banks of the Shrewsbury for supplying your market, I cannot help mentioning to you that early after I took command on this station I purchased a vessel mounting twelve carriage-guns; she was fitted out at a considerable expense; I requested that the city would man her, that I would pay the men, and that her services should never be diverted to any other purpose than giving such protection; my offer was received with a strong degree of coolness, and till now I have never had any further solicitation on this subject."

To this rather sharp retort the chamber answered disclaiming any purpose of giving offense in suggesting their "ideas of the mode (never hitherto altogether adopted) of affording *effectual* protection to this port." In the matter of the admiral's reference to the protection of Halifax, they scout the idea of comparison between the two ports (that and New York) as harbors for large ships, or as to the export and import trade of each. "Though most of the charts are marked with only three and one-half fathoms of water on the bar outside of Sandy Hook, yet the most experienced pilots declare they have always found the depth four fathoms. After getting over the bar the water deepens all the way to New York. Ships of war can go up the river through Hell Gate and the Sound, between Long Island and the continent, into the ocean. Sir James Wallace in the *Experiment*, of fifty guns, when chased by the French fleet off the east end of Long Island in 1777, came through the Sound, Hell Gate, and the East River, to New York. The tide flows up Hudson's or the North River one hundred and eighty miles. Before the Revolution ships went from London Bridge to Albany, which is one hundred and seventy miles up the river; only six miles below it, it was necessary to lighten them by taking out part of the cargo."¹

To his remarks upon his offer to protect the fishing banks, they assure him that no application had ever been made to them on that subject, or "they would have taken it up with the same zeal which they doubt not your excellency will admit they manifested to procure volunteers for manning his majesty's ships under your command"; and they end with the engagement that if the admiral will be "so good as to furnish a proper vessel with provisions and ammunition to protect the fishermen on the banks of Shrewsbury for the benefit of this market, the Chamber of Commerce will cheerfully exert their endeavors, and they doubt not they will be able in a short time not only to procure as many men as your excellency may think sufficient for that purpose, but also to raise funds for paying them, provided protection from injuries can be granted by your excellency to the men, and that they shall be discharged as soon as the fishing season is over."

The admiral took no offense at the asperity of this communication. He reminded them that "offense to his majesty's enemies, as well as protection to the loyal part of the community, necessarily engaged a considerable part of his attention," and assured them that he would "always bear testimony to the ready and cheerful assistance which the city gave to raising

¹ *Political Magazine*, 1781.

volunteers." He made no further allusion to the protection of the fishing banks.

The Chamber of Commerce was furnished still another opportunity to express itself upon the subject of privateers; and this time they were those who were intended to serve on the side of the British. Admiral Digby, in command of the station after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, addressed the following letter to Governor Robertson, which was referred by the latter to the Chamber of Commerce:

NEW YORK, April 3, 1782.

SIR:

There are already above one thousand men out in privateers, and four more ready, to man which will take above two hundred men. I must therefore beg your excellency will withhold granting any more commissions till the return of some of the large privateers whose cruises are expired, as there are two frigates now in port that cannot be sent to sea for want of men. At the same time I beg it may be understood that I mean to give all the encouragement to privateers in my power, whenever the king's service will permit. But I must beg leave to take this opportunity of informing your excellency that unless they are kept within bounds it will be impossible to carry on the king's service, and that the *Perseverance*, belonging to Messrs. King & Kemble, and commanded by Mr. Ross, has sailed without my pass, and returned to the Hook, and sailed again after bidding defiance to the guardship and king's boats, which, if suffered to pass unnoticed, must in the end prove a great detriment to my intentions. I have the honor to be your excellency's very obedient servant,

ROBERT DIGBY.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, GOVERNOR ROBERTSON.

In a lengthy memorial replying to this letter, addressed to the governor, the chamber observed, among other things, that "past uniform experience abundantly justified them in observing that however difficult it may be to carry on the king's service unless privateers are kept within bounds, it will be found much more so if these bounds be reduced to too narrow a compass"; that due encouragement to privateers is, in other words, only to tempt both landmen as well as seamen by the most powerful inducements, that of making it their interest to resort from all parts of the continent to this port, "nor has any maxim obtained more universal assent than that all wise governments should assiduously consult and attend to the temper and genius of the people; and *it is notorious that the genius of no people was ever more peculiar or conspicuous than that of the Americans for privateering.*" They therefore recommend, "to impress no man returning from captivity by cartel or escape, until their return to this port after performing one voyage—to impress no man on shore or from any outward bound vessels, but that this port should really and truly

be an asylum to all of the above description, except as is before mentioned on some grand emergency"; else, "rather than be liable to an impress on board men-of-war on their arrival here before they have made a voyage, experience has fully evinced they will enter on board merchant vessels and privateers among the rebels." That there was an underlying sympathy with the patriots among the American mariners is thus made to appear by the testimony of men loyal to the crown.

The grave difficulties encountered by the United States in establishing its freedom abroad as well as at home must not be overlooked. The interests of the states were not and have never been entirely homogeneous. Each foreign power endeavored, after the old-school diplomacy, to intrigue for its own interests in the American domain, and the policy of each towards the young republic was governed by political rather than economic reasons. But while the continental powers sought closer relations, Great Britain stood aloof, partly in the hope that dissatisfaction and distress would be caused in New England by the continuance of her old restriction on the West India trade, which had been the most profitable to those colonies of all their commerce. While, under this policy the annual exports from Great Britain to the United States had decreased nearly £4,000,000, or ten per cent., this loss was partially compensated by an increase in her exports to the West Indies; and while the imports from the United States into Great Britain had decreased annually about eight hundred thousand pounds, or fifty per cent., the imports from the West Indies had increased seven hundred thousand pounds, or twenty per cent. The decrease in the imports from the United States is accounted for by the decreased quantity of rice and tobacco from the Carolinas which found foreign markets through Great Britain—a condition of trade which caused equal dissatisfaction in Virginia, because of the seclusion of her staple product, which, in fact, in a few years destroyed her commercial importance. On the whole, however, Great Britain managed to maintain the balance of trade with the United States in her favor, and was content to wait the course of events at home and abroad, under the system of provisional annual legislation which had prevailed since the war; and meanwhile rejected all American overtures for a commercial treaty.

AN INCIDENT IN THE LIFE OF WEBSTER

BY W. I. CRANDALL

To go back fifty years in the life of an active man is a long stretch for the memory ; but the incident to be related is an amusing one, and not easily to be forgotten. Half a century ago the agricultural and mechanical interests of the empire state acquired a new impetus, judging from the numerous organizations of county fairs which were instituted in every part of the state, and were maintained with enthusiasm for successive years ; followed later in each autumn, by a state fair, to close the season's enterprise. Everything was considered worthy of exhibition, from a mouse-trap to a stage coach, or from a rabbit to the best breeds of imported stock ; and, as a consequence, the state fair became the great annual event, and a rallying-point for all that was worth seeing or hearing, and to which the most intelligent and practical citizens of the country gathered. Railroading was limited in its scope in those days, but the Erie canal still retained its usefulness and great popularity, as the chief artery of inter-communication ; so much so, that the cities and villages along its banks and branches would charter the canal boats to carry their products and themselves to this grand centre of display—the state fair—an event which grew in importance each year, the trip becoming a source of pleasure as well as profit.

There was honorable rivalry between the inland cities to secure the fair for the succeeding year. When that point was settled, however, all the auxiliary county societies vied with each other to excel in the display and make it a success ; while the fortunate city holding the prize left nothing undone to eclipse the fair of the preceding year. Not only was lavish hospitality provided for the visitors, and the city decorated, but marked efforts were made to secure an eloquent orator of known ability and national reputation to deliver the address before the state association and the thousands who were sure to be present. To fail in this was an unpardonable sin. Usually a grand evening banquet closed the orthodox festivities, at which all the notables, far and near, were honored guests, and the toasts and responses were not the least part of the well-rounded entertainment.

In the fall of 1841 or 1842 the state fair was held in the city of Rochester, then the greatest emporium of wheat and milling in the United States, for St. Paul and Minneapolis at that time were not yet in existence. Its milling capacity and remarkable water power made Rochester a leading

attraction to the dominant agricultural interests, and the weather proving favorable, the numbers that came were very large. The canal and basins were blockaded with the boats arriving, and the broad streets were none too spacious to accommodate the crowds of eager visitors landing every hour. To explain this unusual attendance, it may be added that the state committee had secured the presence of Daniel Webster as the orator of the day, and this fact alone was an incentive to multitudes to come, anxious to see and hear the famous American whose eloquent orations were the admiration of the civilized world.

The writer was then a boy employed in the leading jewelry store on the corner of what were known as Exchange and Buffalo streets, whose proprietor, a strong whig, had been long in business, and was an especial admirer of the "god-like Daniel," as Mr. Webster was familiarly known among his warm-hearted friends. Before noon on the day the address was to begin, the sidewalk in front of this store was thronged with people, chiefly strangers, who had gathered around two gentlemen engaged in earnest conversation. The principal one of the two, who seemed to be the cause of this concourse, was dressed in a blue swallow-tail coat with brass buttons, was stoutly built, had a massive head, and was quite dignified in his bearing. He seemed oblivious to his surroundings until the pressure of the throng annoyed him, when he and his friend pushed their way into the jewelry store, only to be crowded still more, as the populace followed and filled the place till it was oppressive.

Then Mr. C——, the proprietor, began to fidget and dance about behind his counters, glancing quickly at each of his clerks, as if to say, "Look sharp for thieves!" Though he, like others, had counted upon a large trade, this was evidently too much of a good thing in the way of customers. Meantime the two gentlemen continued their earnest conference, without noticing the eager spectators. Sometimes a sentence spoken a little louder would be heard, but not enough to make sense; as, "But you must confess this!" exclaimed the man in blue. "It is impossible," replied the other. "Why impossible?" queried the wearer of the brass buttons. "You know all the facts, and it should be done at once." "How can I?" said the other, "after my explanation to him?" "Tell him"—and here the voices dropped to indistinctness.

At this point Mr. C——, innocent in his way, thought he understood what was the matter, and became so excited that he pushed through in front, and, touching the arm of the one in blue, requested him very decidedly "to leave the store," as the best way to get rid of the crowd. The gentleman addressed, pausing, looked at Mr. C—— with marked surprise;

then he appeared to realize the state of affairs, and in a very gracious manner bowed and apologized for the inconvenience he had caused. "In truth," he said, "he had not observed how he was trespassing." He and his friend then returned to the sidewalk, and the people followed, leaving the store alone to Mr. C—— and his clerks.

How relieved the proprietor was as he rubbed his hands and drew in a long breath! "Well," said he, "that was well managed. The rascals! I hope nothing here has been stolen." Such an affair amused the clerks, of course, but what was their astonishment when Mr. A——, the horologer and watch repairer, a man who had seen much of the world, and who was showing a customer a watch at the time, began to laugh pleasantly, and asked Mr. C—— "if he knew whom he had just turned out of doors?"

"No sir," said Mr. C——, "except I'm positive the man in blue has had his pocket picked, and was trying to make the rogue confess."

"Indeed, you are much mistaken," said Mr. A——; "that 'man in blue,' as you call him, is the 'god-like' Daniel Webster whom you worship and have been so anxious to see for the last month, while the 'rogue' whom he would confess is a prominent personal friend of his on the state committee."

"Impossible," faltered Mr. C——. But as the truth began to enter his soul, the color fled from his face; he stood for several minutes completely dazed, too mortified and overcome to move or attempt reparation. When, however, he did recover his composure, he noticed a Rochester friend stop before the door and cordially shake hands with Mr. Webster as an old acquaintance, for the distinguished senator of Massachusetts was still conversing with the committeeman in front of the store. "Ah! there's a chance," said Mr. C——, and rushing out he button-holed the mutual friend, and begged an introduction to the "great expounder." The clerks curiously followed to the door to witness the last scene in the comedy in which so great a personage was the chief actor. The introduction was kindly given, and when Mr. C——, with many salutations, explained the episode in the store with humble apologies, a genial smile spread over the broad face of Webster, and grew into a jolly laugh so hearty and contagious, that the writer and his fellow clerks forgot their manners and joined in the laughter; while many spectators, imagining they understood the joke, increased the merriment, which mysteriously spread around the corner, for most of the people had not the slightest idea of what they were laughing at.

It took Mr. C—— several weeks to reconcile his conscience to the part he had acted, but finally he began to regard it as an excellent joke and worthy of remembrance.

THE GRAVE OF TAMENEND (TAMMANY)

BY H. C. MERCER.

If one descends the Neshaminy creek along its right bank at Prospect Hill, in New Britain township, Bucks county, Pennsylvania, and coming out of the hemlock grove that overhangs the water, ascends the first rivulet that crosses his path, a walk of three or four hundred yards will bring him to its source: a small spring, half hidden by grass, in a hollow of the open hillside meadow. About fifty feet downward from the spring, close to the rill, we find, by pulling away some briars, an old stump much decayed, where forty years ago stood a large poplar, and just forty-seven feet below it some large saplings mark the former site of a chestnut tree. Between the two stumps stands a young cherry tree, and there a little nearer the rivulet, at the foot of the bank, eleven feet from the poplar and thirty-six from the chestnut (according to Aden H. Brinker), is the site of an Indian grave.

The spot is on the farm now owned by Enos Detweiler,¹ about a mile up Neshaminy creek from Godschalk's dam, and there is no doubt that about the middle of the last century an Indian chief was buried there by white men. The local tradition of the death and burial has been often referred to by antiquarians, notably in *Watson's Annals* (ii., 172), in a quoted letter written from Bucks county, by one E. M., in about 1842, to the editor; in Sherman Day's *Historical Collection* (p. 163); in *Harper's Magazine* (vol. xliv., p. 639); by W. J. Buck in the *Doylestown Democrat* for May 6, 1856; and by John Rodgers within a few years in the *Doylestown Intelligencer*. It was noted down by me last year, from the lips of Thomas Shewell, Esq., of Bristol, the oldest living male descendant—great grandson—of Walter Shewell (born 1702, died 1779), who superintended the burial about one hundred and fifty years ago.

A very aged Indian, too infirm to walk, so ran the story as he knew it direct from his ancestors, while being carried by younger followers to a conference with the proprietaries (probably at Philadelphia), halted near

¹ I traced back the ownership of the property in the Doylestown land records to about 1770. From that time (Deed Book 19, p. 76) it had come down through David Caldwell, William Forbes, William Dean, David Waggoner, Abram Moyer, John Moyer, Captain J. Robbarts, in 1822; (Deed Book 49, p. 139) to John Q. Adams Brinker and the present owner. I cannot learn that it was ever owned by the Shewells.

the above-mentioned spring.¹ There, tired of their burden, the young Indians built a hut for the old man, and leaving him in charge of an Indian girl,² suddenly, after night came on, abandoned him and went on to the rendezvous. So enraged and distressed was he, on waking, to find himself deserted, that he tried to commit suicide by stabbing himself; and when his weak, trembling hand could not thrust the knife with effect, at last set fire to his bed of leaves and threw himself upon it.³ The other Indians, who had been refused a hearing by the proprietaries in his absence, and sent back to fetch him, on arriving at the hut found him dead, with a great hole burned in his side.

The affair was noised abroad, and Walter Shewell, Esq., of Painswick Hall,⁴ the most prominent man in the neighborhood, and once sheriff of Bucks county, had the body buried in the presence of the Indians near the hut. All the common versions repeat the incident omitted by Mr. Shewell, that Walter Shewell's son Robert, then a little boy, wanted to go with his father to the funeral, but was forbidden. The Misses Shewell of Doylestown are very certain of the detail as forming part of their family tradition. But their cousin, my informant, doubts it. Not long after, the body of a son or descendant of Tammany, or Tamenend (for so all the traditions distinctly name the buried chief) was brought by Indians to the spring and there buried near the other grave, where Mr. Thomas Shewell, my informant, remembered seeing both grave-mounds with the stones and the two large trees, in about the year 1816.⁵ Still later, two more dead Indians, supposed to have been descendants of Tamenend, were brought by the tribe to the spot for burial, and finally, for some reason unknown, interred in the old New Britain (Baptist) churchyard, where all trace of their unmarked graves has been lost.⁶

On January 31, 1892, I visited the spring and site of "Tammany's

¹ The common version and that of Sherman Day, taken from some member of the Shewell family about 1840 (*Hist. Coll.*, p. 163), says distinctly that the old chief fell ill on the road.

² The current versions describe the girl as his daughter.

³ All the other versions say that he first tried to burn himself, but was prevented, and afterwards stabbed himself while the girl was at the spring.

⁴ Painswick Hall named after an ancestral country seat of the Shewells in England. The old house recently sold by the Misses Shewell of Doylestown still stands on the left of the road leading from New Britain to Castle Valley, the first building on the left after crossing the road to Godschalk's mill. Early in the last century it belonged to an estate of five hundred acres. The Shewells were in New Britain in 1729.

⁵ The Misses Shewell knew nothing of this grave.

⁶ The Misses Shewell had not heard of these graves. Neither had the present sexton at New Britain. Eugene James, Esq., had an indistinct recollection of having heard them mentioned.

grave" in the company of the only two persons now living who probably could positively identify the spot—Aden H. Brinker of New Britain, and Edward Brinker, sons of John Quincy Adams Brinker, who had bought the Detweiler farm from Captain Robbarts and sold it to its present owner. Knowing the need of exactness in these facts, I took the greatest care in learning from the Brinker brothers that Captain Robbarts had been a particular friend of the Shewells and a frequent guest at Painswick Hall, scarcely a mile away; that through Nathaniel Shewell the then owner (uncle of Mr. Shewell of Bristol) and others of the family, he had been fully acquainted with the particulars of the tradition. That after his sale of the farm to the Brinkers, he had boarded at the house until his death, and had frequently shown the boys and their father the graves by the spring.

Aden H. Brinker was about fourteen years old when his father ordered him to remove the grave stones. They were flat, unhewn slabs of red slate, about three feet long and one and a half wide, with no marks upon them, standing at Tammany's grave, six or seven feet apart, and protruding about eight inches from the ground. Much less account was made of the second grave than of the first, but both brothers remember their father and Captain Robbarts pointing it out, about fifty feet away, across the gully. Thus the spot has changed much since the graves were visible. So much, that perhaps Mr. Shewell, who has not seen it for nearly eighty years, would not recognize it. The steep overhanging bank has been much graded down by plowing. The source, according to Mr. Brinker, has receded nearly one hundred feet from the poplar stump. The trees are gone and the hillside is bare.¹ Still, if there is any certainty in human evidence, we are here within a few feet of the historic grave. Here, no doubt, a rusty iron knife or hatchet, a few glass beads bought from white men, and possibly a brass medal, might be dug up to tell the tale of this memorable interment. It is to be hoped, however, that no relic hunter, for the sake of a few comparatively modern trinkets (since he need expect to find no implements of the stone age), will venture to disturb the spot.

There is no doubt, then, as to the burial of the Indian, and little doubt as to our having found the spot. The only remaining question is as to the identification of the chief. Was it Tamenend?

Sherman Day (*Historical Collections*, p. 163) answers the question in the negative, and adduces in proof an ingenious and, at first, a convincing

¹ Besides the two large trees referred to, a walnut and two other chestnuts on the slope just above the spring and opposite Tammany's grave, were cut down by the Brinkers for barn building at the same time, 1850-60.

argument. He fixes, and I think correctly, the date of burial after 1740; because Robert Shewell, the "little boy" who asked in vain (according to the common tradition) to go to the funeral, was born then.¹ Tammany, he thinks, could not possibly have been living so late and escaped the notice of the Moravian missionaries who explored the forks of the Delaware in 1742, and the Susquehanna soon after. But this is only a suggestion of Mr. Day's, and so is my answer to it. I suggest that Tamenend might have been living after 1740, unnoticed by white men, and for the following reasons:

First, Tamenend was present at a council in Philadelphia on July 6, 1694, when the Iroquois wanted the Delawares to attack the settlers (*Colonial Records*, i. 447), when he made this speech: "We and the Christians of this river have always had a free roadway to one another, and, though sometimes a tree has fallen across the road, yet we have still removed it again, and kept the path clear, and we design to continue the old friendship that has been between us and you." And, again, on July 6, 1697 (*Pennsylvania Archives*, i. 124), when with "Wehiland, my brother, and Weheequickhou, *alias* Andrew, who is to be king after my death," he again, for the third time, sells his land between Pennypack and Neshaminy creeks. This is the last official notice of him thus far discovered. If he was forty years old then, he would have been ninety-three in 1750; or if fifty, one hundred and three at the later date, which is in general accord with the Bucks county tradition of his great age; upon which tradition Cooper bases his description in the *Last of the Mohicans*.

Secondly, the lands lying between Pennypack and Neshaminy creeks constituted the particular territory of Tamenend himself, which he sold three times over to William Penn, in 1683, 1692, and 1697. Then and for

¹ But it is useless, I think, to assign, as he does, 1749, or the date of any known public conference, to the journey of the old man and his followers over Prospect hill. Examination of the signed treaties proves that no one chief, whatever his rank as sachem, was present at any of the land conferences which did not concern him personally. Tamenend, who was head sachem of the whole Lenape system until 1718, was not present at the Jersey land treaty of 1673, or the lower Bucks county sale in 1692, or the Chester and Pennypack sale in 1685, nor that for the Schuylkill and Pennypack lands in 1683, or Susquehanna and Delaware lands in 1683 (see *Colonial Records* and *Pennsylvania Archives*). When, in 1683, selling lands between the Neshaminy and Pennypack (*Pa. Arch.*, i., 62), Tamenend concerned himself with his own patrimony. A study of the deeds throws little light on the governmental system of the Lenape; we find appended to each a list of strange names, and the same tract sold several times by different individuals, with no hint of a general tribal supervision. Doubtless dozens of informal conferences were never recorded, to anyone of which Tamenend may have been called. The 1749 conference concluded a sale of lands beyond the Blue mountains. At that time Tamenend, if living, had been deposed from the office of chief sachem for thirty-one years.

years after the word Tamenend must have been identified with the region, and is it likely that the Shewells, who came there in 1729, only thirty-one years after the last sale, would have made a mistake in the name?

Third, there is some corroborative evidence for the tradition in a song composed in honor of the American saint, Tammany, in 1783, at one of the meetings of the then celebrated Tammany brotherhood in Philadelphia, beginning:

" Of Andrew, of Peter, of David, of George,
What mighty achievements we hear."

It must have been written later than the date of the first Philadelphia almanac that dubbed Tamenend a saint, about 1760-70. While its last verse—

" At last growing old and quite worn out with years,
As history doth truly proclaim,
His wigwam was fired, he nobly expired,
And flew to the skies in a flame—"

infers either that the composer had heard the story of his death on Neshaminy, or had, which is rather unlikely, confused him with the well-known Tedyuskung, who was burned to death in his wigwam, at Wyoming, in 1763, while intoxicated.

At one of the society's meetings in 1781, a delegation of Senecas visited the society's "wigwam" on the Schuylkill, where hung a portrait of "Tammany," on which occasion Cornplanter made a speech, and, pointing to the picture, poured a libation of wine on the ground, saying: "If we pour it on the ground, it will suck it up and he will get it." It was this merry-making brotherhood, founded in Philadelphia before the Revolution, who set in vogue the myth that the three white balls on Penn's coat of arms represented three dumplings which Tammany had cooked for him at the treaty tree. They adopted Indian names, and paraded in Indian dress on Tammany's day (the 1st of May).¹ They invented all manner of myths, stories, and sayings about the great Indian, and had him dubbed a saint by certain almanac makers. In short, they set going the word Tammany, so to speak, over the country, and gave rise to all the other so-called Tammany societies in the United States; among them the Independent Order of Red Men, and the New York political organization known as Tammany Hall, founded in Borden's City Hotel, in New York, in 1789. Thus also originated the name of Tam-

¹ The frequent elaborate Indian costumes still common at city parades in Philadelphia are unquestionably a relic of these processions.

manytown, Juniata county, Pennsylvania; of Mount Tammany, near Williamsport, Maryland; of Tamenend, Schuylkill county, Pennsylvania; of Tammany street, Philadelphia, now Buttonwood; of St. Tammany parish, Louisiana; of Tammany, Mecklenburgh county, Virginia, and of a hundred other places similarly designated.

But lastly, to return to our subject, there is no question that the three clans of the Lenape—the wolf, turtle and turkey—were in a vague way presided over by a head sachem, chosen from the turtle clan by the members of the two other clans (*Lenape and their Legends*, p. 47). Just what his powers were is not definitely known. He certainly had little or nothing to do with the land sales of his fellow chiefs to the whites. Loskiel says that "he arranged treaties and conventions of peace" and kept the wampum peace belt of the tribe (*Mission*, p. 135). He held his office during good behavior, and so generally until death. Such a chief was Tamenend, and the others—Allumpees (died 1747); Nutimus, probably Tatemy (died 1761); Netatawces (in the west) and Tedyuscung (in the east, died 1763)—who came after him until the removal of the Delawares from eastern Pennsylvania.¹ Such were the many who came before him if we are to believe the testimony of the *wallum olum*, or Lenape bark record, an historic song illustrated by mnemonic pictographs, and sung by medicine men at sacred occasions, recounting the tribal migrations. They appear also on the full list of head sachems, discovered by the eccentric antiquarian C. A. Rafinesque, and recently published by Dr. Brinton, (*Lenape and their Legends*, 170).

The *wallum olum* tells us that Tamenend, or "the affable," was not the first of his name, but that long before, counting back by the names of scores of rulers before the coming of the whites, there were two other Tamenends, the first, a celebrated head sachem in the far west before the tribe had migrated eastward. Taking this and Reichel's *Memoirs of the Moravian Church* as our authority, we learn that our Tamenend was preceded by Ikwahou, and probably succeeded by Allumpees or Sassoonan, who was made chief in 1718, and held the office till his death in 1747.

Here is an important date: the certain end of Tamenend's reign in 1718. If he died then, that is the end of our story. But that he did so is by no means certain. For some reason not thoroughly explained, the Iroquois at about this time obtained that curious moral and physical influence over the Delawares which has been the subject of much curious speculation. Then it was that governors were sent down from the Six

¹ These and many other interesting and uncollected data I find in an annotated edition of Reichel's *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, at the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Nations to look after them, and they were referred to as "women" and "in petticoats," and took that position of a conquered people which they held down to the outbreak of the Revolution. What the details of this sudden decadence were, whether a defeat in battle or a weakening internal dispute, no one has as yet authoritatively learned. The Moravians did not come into the upper Delaware and Susquehanna region until 1742, and, as Heckewelder testifies, the Indians were very reticent on these subjects. Allumpees, made sachem in 1718, was a weak character, and died a drunkard in 1747. As the tool of the Iroquois he may have been elected by their powerful influence to supersede Tamenend, nor is it impossible to suppose that the latter, by a patriotic resistance to the majority of his people at the time of their degradation, had become distasteful to the Six Nations.

If it be not unfair to suggest this, we have a ready explanation of the several apparent contradictory facts, that he had a great reputation among his tribe, and yet that they said so little about him; that he lived until about 1750, and yet was unnoticed by early settlers and missionaries, and in public documents. Yet this is but supposition, and I have thus far tried in vain to sift to the bottom the stories that Tamenend once lived upon the site of Easton; was buried where Nassau Hall now stands at Princeton college; lived in the State of Delaware, or at the place in Damascus township, Wayne county, called by the early Connecticut settlers "St. Tammany's flat," in 1757.

SERGEANT LEE'S EXPERIENCE WITH BUSHNELL'S SUBMARINE TORPEDO IN 1776

COMMUNICATED BY PROFESSOR HENRY P. JOHNSTON

As to Captain David Bushnell, of the Revolutionary Army, sometimes mentioned as the father of modern submarine warfare, and who in Washington's recollection was "a man of great mechanical powers, fertile in inventions and master of execution," one must be referred for details of life and service to the monograph issued in 1881 by General Henry L. Abbot, of the United States Engineer Corps, who had gathered all the information then to be had respecting this comparatively obscure genius of '76. It is a graceful and valuable tribute from an accomplished branch of our military service to the American pioneer in the profession.¹

In brief, Bushnell, while a student in college, during the years 1771-75, endeavored to solve the problem of conducting without detection a powerful explosive under a ship, and igniting it without danger to the operator. He succeeded in perfecting a remarkable machine or craft for the purpose, and made his first offensive attempts with it in New York harbor in the summer of 1776. That the attempts proved futile was due more to incidental circumstances than to defect in the principle or design; and had opportunities been given him for repeated experiments, he would doubtless have made good all that was claimed for his invention. Lieutenant F. M. Barber, of the United States navy, after careful study of the machinery of the torpedo as described by the inventor himself, has expressed the opinion that, notwithstanding its failures, "it seems to have been the most perfect thing of its kind that has ever been constructed, either before or since the time of Bushnell."

Ezra Lee, sergeant and then ensign in the Connecticut line of the Revolutionary army, who operated the torpedo, contributed much information regarding it to others, which appears in General Abbot's monograph; but in the following letter we have for the first time any facts in the case from his own pen:

¹ *The Beginning of Modern Submarine Warfare, under Captain David Bushnell, Sappers and Miners, Army of the Revolution.* Being a Historical Compilation arranged by Lieutenant-Colonel Henry L. Abbot, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., Brevet Brigadier-General. Printed at the Engineer School of Application, Willet's Point, New York, 1881. See *Magazine of American History*, volume for 1882.

LYME [CONN.], 20th Feb'y, 1815.

TO GENERAL DAVID HUMPHREYS,

Dear Sir,—Judge Griswold and Charles Griswold Esq., both informed me that you wished to have an account of a machine invented by David Bushnell of Saybrook at the commencement of our Revolutionary War.

In the summer of 1776 he went to New York with it to try the "Asia" man of war :—his brother being acquainted with the working of the machine, was to try the first experiment with it, but having spent untill the middle of August, he gave out in consequence of indisposition. Mr. Bushnell then came to General Parsons (of Lyme) to get some one to go and learn the ways and mystery of this new machine and to make a trial of it. General Parsons sent for me and two others, who had given in our names to go in a fire-ship if wanted, to see if we would undertake the enterprise. We agreed to it ; but first returned with the machine down Sound and on our way practised with it in several harbours. We returned as far back as Say-Brook with Mr. Bushnell, where some little alterations were made in it, in the course of which time (it being 8 or 10 days) the British had got possession of Long Island and Governor's Island. We went back as far as New Rochelle and had it carted over by land to the North River.

Before I proceed further, I will endeavour to give you some idea of the construction of this machine, turtle or torpedo, as it has since been called.

Its shape was most like a round clam, but longer, and set up on its square side.¹ It was high enough to stand in or sit as you had occasion, with a composition head hanging on hinges.² It had six glasses inserted in the head and made water tight, each the size of a half Dollar piece to admit light. In a clear day a person might see to read in three fathoms of water. The machine was steered by a rudder having a crooked tiller, which led in by your side through a water joint ;³ then sitting on the seat, the navigator rows with one hand and steers with the other. It had two oars of about 12 inches in length, and 4 or 5 in width, shaped like the arms of a windmill which led also inside through water joints, in front of the person steering, and were worked by means of a wench (or crank) ; and with hard labour, the machine might be impelled at the rate of 3 nots an hour for a short time.

Seven hundred pounds of lead were fixed on the bottom for ballast, and two hundred weight of it was so contrived as to let it go in case the pumps choked, so that you could rise at the surface of the water. It was sunk by letting in water by a spring near the bottom, by placing your foot against which the water would rush in, and when sinking take off your foot and it would cease to come in and you would sink no further ; but if you had sunk too far, pump out water until you got the necessary depth. These pumps forced the water out of the bottom, one being on each side of you as you rowed. A pocket compass was fixed in the side, with a piece of light wood on the north side, thus +, and another on the east side thus —, to steer by while under water.⁴ Three round doors were cut in the head (each 3 inches diameter) to let in fresh air untill you wished to sink, and then they were shut down and fastened. There was also a glass tube 12 inches long and 1 inch diameter, with a cork in it, with a piece of light wood fixed to it, and another piece at the bottom of the tube to tell the depth of descent ;⁵ one inch rise of the cork in the tube gave about one fathom water.

It had a screw that pierced through the top of the machine with a water joint which was so very sharp that it would enter wood with very little force ; and this was turned

with a wench or crank, and when entered fast in the bottom of the ship the screw is then left and the machine is disengaged by unscrewing another one inside that held the other. From the screw now fixed on the bottom of the ship a line let to and fastened to the magazine to prevent its escape either side of the ship. The magazine [of powder] was directly behind you on the outside, and that was freed from you by unscrewing a screw inside. Inside the magazine was a clock machinery, which immediately sets a going after it is disengaged, and a gun lock is fixed to strike fire to the powder at the set time after the clock should run down. The clock might be set to go longer or shorter; 20 or 30 minutes was the usual time to let the Navigator escape. This magazine was shaped like an egg and made of oak dug out in two pieces, bound together with bands of iron, corked and paid over with tar so as to be perfectly tight; and the clock was formed so as not to run until this magazine was unscrewed.

I will now endeavour to give you a short account of my voyage in this machine.

The first night after we got down to New York with it that was favourable (for the time for a trial must be when it is slack water and calm, as it is unmanagable in a swell or a strong tide) the British fleet lay a little above Staten Island. We set off from the city; the whale boats towed me as nigh the ships as they dared to go and then cast me off. I soon found that it was too early in the tide, as it carried me down by the ships. I however hove about and rowed for 5 glasses by the ships' bells before the tide slackened, so that I could get alongside of the man of war which lay above the transports. The moon was about 2 hours high, and the daylight about one. When I rowed under the stern of the ship I could see the men on deck and hear them talk. I then shut down all the doors, sunk down and came under the bottom of the ship. Up with the screw against the bottom but found that it would not enter.^a I pulled along to try another place, but deviated a little one side and immediately rose with great velocity and come above the surface 2 or 3 feet between the ship and the daylight, then sunk again like a porpoise. I hove about to try again, but on further thought I gave out, knowing that as soon as it was light the ships' boats would be rowing in all directions, and I thought the best generalship was to retreat as fast as I could, as I had 4 miles to go before passing Governor's Island. So I jogg'd on as fast as I could, and my compass being then of no use to me, I was obliged to rise up every few minutes to see that I sailed in the right direction, and for this purpose keeping the machine on the surface of the water and the doors open. I was much afraid of getting aground on the island, as the tide of the flood set on the north point.

While on my passage up to the city, my course, owing to the above circumstances, was very crooked and zigzag, and the enemy's attention was drawn towards me from Governor's Island. When I was abreast of the fort on the Island, 3 or 400 men got upon the parapet to observe me; at length a number came down to the shore, shoved off a 12 oar'd barge with 5 or 6 sitters and pulled for me. I eyed them, and when they had got within 50 or 60 yards of me I let loose the magazine in hopes that if they should take me they would likewise pick up the magazine, and then we should all be blown up together. But as kind Providence would have it, they took fright, and returned to the island to my infinite joy. I then weathered the Island, and our people seeing me, came off with a whale boat and towed me in. The magazine, after getting a little past the Island, went off with a tremendous explosion, throwing up large bodies of water to an immense height.^b

Before we had another opportunity to try an experiment our army evacuated New

York and we retreated up the North River as far as fort Lee. A Frigate came up and anchored off Bloomingdale. I now made another attempt upon a new plan. My intention was to have gone under the ship's stern and screwed on the magazine close to the water's edge, but I was discovered by the watch, and was obliged to abandon this scheme; then shutting my doors I dove under her, but my cork in the tube (by which I ascertained my depth) got obstructed and deceived me, and I descended too deep and did not touch the ship; I then left her. Soon after, the Frigate came up the river, drove our "Crane" galley on shore and sunk our sloop, from which we escaped to the shore.

I am, &c.,

E. LEE

NOTES TO THE LETTER.¹

1. The machine was built of oak in the strongest manner possible, corked and tarred, and though its sides were at least six inches thick, the writer of the foregoing told me that the pressure of the water against it at the depth of two fathoms was so great that it oozed quite through as mercury will by means of the air pump. Mr. Bushnell's machine was no larger than just to admit one person to navigate; its extreme length was not more than 7 feet. When lying in the water, in its ordinary state without ballast, its upper works did not rise more than 6 or 7 inches out of water.

2. This composition head means a composition of metals something like bell metal, and was fixed on the top of the machine, and which afforded the only admission to the inside.

3. The steering of this machine was done on the same principles with ordinary vessels, but the rowing her through the water was on a very different plan. These oars were fixed on the end of a shaft like windmill arms projected out forward, and turned at right angles with the course of the machine; and upon the same principles that windmill arms are turned by the wind these oars, when put in motion, as the writer describes, draws the machine slowly after it. This moving power is small, and every attendant circumstance must cooperate with it to answer the purpose—calm waters and no current.

4. This light wood is what we sometimes call fox fire, and is the dry wood that shines in the dark:—this was necessary as the points of the compass could not readily be seen without.

5. The glass tube here mentioned, which was a sort of thermometer to ascertain the depth of water the machine descended, is the only part that is without explanation. The writer of the foregoing could not recollect the principles on which such an effect was produced, nor the mechanical contrivance of it. He only knows that it was so contrived that the cork and light wood rose or fell in the tube by the ascent or descent of the machine.

6. The reason why the screw would not enter was that the ship's bottom being coppered, it would have been difficult under any circumstances to have pierced through it; but on attempting to bore with the augur, the force necessary to be used in pressing against the ship's bottom caused the machine to rebound off. This difficulty defeated

¹ The notes at the end of Sergeant Lee's letter appear to have been appended by Mr. Griswold, of Lyme, before the letter was forwarded to General Humphreys.

the whole ; the screw could not enter the bottom, and of course the magazine could not be kept there in the mode desired.

7. When the explosion took place, General Putnam was vastly pleased, and cried out in his peculiar way—" God'scurse 'em, that'll do it for 'em."

HYMN TO CONCORD MONUMENT

By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard round the world.

The foe long since in silence slept,
Alike the conqueror silent sleeps ;
And Time the ruined bridge has swept
Down the dark stream which seaward creeps.

On this green bank, by this soft stream,
We set to-day a votive stone ;
That memory may their deed redeem,
When, like our sires, our sons are gone.

Spirit, that made those heroes dare
To die, and leave their children free,
Bid Time and Nature gently spare
The shaft we raise to them and thee.

—EMERSON

ORIGINAL DOCUMENT

AN ALLEGORICAL DRAWING BY COLUMBUS

The fac-simile which appears on another page has been presented in American works only twice (which really amounts to once), in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History* and in his *Christopher Columbus*. But in neither case is the complete original reproduced, the marginal explanations of the drawing being omitted. The sketch was made by Columbus in 1502, and sent by him from Seville to Genoa, where it is preserved to this day in the city hall. In May, 1502, Columbus departed from Spain on his fourth and last voyage to America, in the course of which he was destined to be disappointed in finding either the golden Chersonesus or a strait out of the Caribbean sea into the Indian ocean. He found, however, the gold mines of Veraguas, the country which has provided a title for his descendants which they bear to the present day. The whole story of this last journey was filled with distresses and disasters on sea and on land. Columbus suffered shipwreck on Jamaica, and even after his compatriots at Domingo had learned of his plight, he was left to linger for months in his precarious situation, so that his sojourn on that coast rounded out the full year. In November, 1504, Columbus again reached Spain, and in May, 1506, he died.

There are some circumstances gathering about Columbus in the year 1502, before he sailed, which seem to lend countenance to the idea that he really perpetrated this drawing. He certainly was a draughtsman; at one period he had made his living by drawing maps, and was considered "a master in makynge cardes for the sea." Winsor remarks, with his usual caution when he has something commendatory to say of Columbus: "If some existing drawings are not apocryphal, he had a deft hand, too, in making a spirited sketch with a few strokes." Some of these drawings are given in a recent edition of Irving's *Columbus*. There were three in a letter of the Admiral written in 1493: one represents Columbus on the deck of his ship with an astrolabe in his hand, standing on the forecastle, and the foremast shown broken short off; the other represents a caravel under full sail in mid-ocean; the third shows his ship in the foreground, with the recently discovered islands in a rather crude perspective in the background. Two other drawings are purported to have come from Columbus's hand: one representing Fort Isabella, with the town in process of building; another showing a galley coasting the island of Hispaniola.

S . S
 A . S
 X M Y
 XPOTRENS //

Legno conale fibrofori clau
 legna o tra kina uale
 Gu dertit.

Spicula puerorum uideri
 pueri, amantissimi pueri
 in unum cum matre
 amantissimi et
 clau.



Clau. puerorum uideri
 pueri, amantissimi pueri
 in unum cum matre
 amantissimi et
 clau.

Clau. puerorum uideri
 pueri, amantissimi pueri
 in unum cum matre
 amantissimi et
 clau.

Clau. puerorum uideri
 pueri, amantissimi pueri
 in unum cum matre
 amantissimi et
 clau.

Clau. puerorum uideri
 pueri, amantissimi pueri
 in unum cum matre
 amantissimi et
 clau.

Clau. puerorum uideri
 pueri, amantissimi pueri
 in unum cum matre
 amantissimi et
 clau.

Clau. puerorum uideri
 pueri, amantissimi pueri
 in unum cum matre
 amantissimi et
 clau.

Clau. puerorum uideri
 pueri, amantissimi pueri
 in unum cum matre
 amantissimi et
 clau.

The latter was made to illustrate a letter written by Columbus to Don Raphael Xansis, treasurer of the king, an extremely rare edition of which is preserved in the library of Milan.

How the drawing of which we give a fac-simile came to be in Genoa may be explained by the fact that at this very time, in 1502, before proceeding on his voyage, Columbus sent more than one important communication to his native city. At that time he caused several elaborate papers and documents to be copied and bound in book form, setting forth his titles and privileges; one or two of which copies were sent to the Genoese ambassador in Spain. On April 2, 1502, he wrote that famous letter to the bank of St. George at Genoa, in which he directed them to use the interest of a certain sum to be deposited there, for the relief of the poor of the city. Hence, with these, other letters may have gone to his native city, in one of which the illustration under discussion may have been included. This we would suppose because the drawing is now found in Genoa, although of course it may have been presented to the city later as a valuable curiosity. Lastly there is a probability that Columbus made such a drawing, just because of its allegorical character, for about this time he was in a frame of mind for that sort of thing. He was composing the *Libros de las Profecias* (Books of the Prophets), in which he labored to prove that his exploits were 'not so much the result of conclusions based upon premises warranted by the science of the times, as the blind and passive fulfillment on his part of what was writ by holy men of old. "He had simply been impelled by something that he had not then suspected; and his was but a predestined mission to make good what he imagined was the prophecy of Isaiah in the Apocalypse." He went on also to speculate about the end of the world; and now that we have just celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of his achievement of 1492, it is a little refreshing to read that he calculated the world would hardly continue longer than one hundred and fifty-five years after 1502.

But much more apposite to the actual allegory which he depicted with his pencil, Columbus wrote at this time a letter to the pope, in which he expressed it as his belief that his then distressed condition—deprived of titles and rights, superseded by other men—"was the work of Satan, who came to see that the success of Columbus in the Indies would be only a preparation for the Admiral's long-vaunted recovery of the Holy Land." Impressed with this idea, in a general frame of spiritual exaltation, he drew the picture here represented. Columbus places himself in a vehicle, half chariot, half ship, gliding over the sea. The figure beside him is

Providence. Envy and Ignorance are the monsters following in his wake. Fairer creatures attend him and prosper his way: Constancy, Tolerance, the Christian Religion, Victory and Hope. Over the whole floats the figure of Fame, blowing two trumpets; out of one proceeds the name "Genoa," out of the other is sounded the "Fame of Columbus." Harisse states that the marginal writing explaining these allegorical features in Italian is in the handwriting of Columbus. To us the script seems almost too modern. It does not appear from his manner of reference to the copy of this drawing in the city hall of Genoa, that Harisse himself had seen it. It is more probable that some later hand has written the explanation. But the signature of Columbus is the one usually attached to his letters after the discovery. The characters have never been interpreted quite to the satisfaction of everybody. Winsor says: "Perhaps as reasonable a guess as any would make them stand for 'Servus, Supplex, Altissimi Salvatoris Christus, Maria, Yoseph, Christoferens.' Others read: 'Servidor, Sus, Altegass, Sacras, Christo, Maria, Ysabel [or Yoseph].' The 'Christoferens' is sometimes replaced by 'El Almirante.'"

NOTE.—This reduced fac-simile on the opposite page was obtained from a volume in the Boston Public Library, through the kindness of the trustees and librarian. The exact description of the Italian authority (from which our copy is taken) has been kindly written out by the librarian, Mr. Theodore F. Dwight, as follows:

La taroca di bronzo, il pallio di seta ed il Codice
Colombo Americano nuovamente illustrati per
cura di Giuseppe Banchemo.

8° Genova, 1857.

Tavola VIII following page 548.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES IN PARAGRAPHS

BY CHARLES LEDYARD NORTON

[Continued from page 63]

COLORADO

A state of the South Central group—area, 103,925 square miles; dimensions—270 miles north and south, 390 miles east and west. Latitude, 37° to 41° N.; longitude, 102° to 109° W. The name is Spanish, meaning "red," from the prevailing color of the rocks, originally applied to the principal river of the region. State motto, "Nil sine Numine"—"Nothing without God." Nickname, "The Centennial State," from the year of its admission to the Union—the centenary of the Republic (1876).

1682. The whole continent west of the Mississippi (including Colorado) claimed for France by La Salle, and named Louisiana. He, however, never went west of middle Texas.

1763. Spain claims the country by virtue of adjacent settlements.

1776, August 5. Marching from Santa Fé, Francisco Silvestre Velez Escalante, with a considerable following of Spaniards and Indian converts, reaches Nieves, on the headwaters of the San Juan river. This is the first place within the state mentioned by undoubted European authority.

September 9. Escalante, having crossed the southwestern corner of Colorado, passes into what is now Utah, near where the White river crosses

the line. In the diary of his march, cliff dwellings, parks, rivers, and mountains are described so that they can be identified. Some of the names that he gave to localities are still retained. He returned to Santa Fé by a circuitous route through Utah and Arizona.

1801. Louisiana retroceded to France by a secret treaty.

1802. Small parties of hunters and trappers penetrate the Colorado region, but have left few authentic records.

1803, April 30. Colorado, as included in Louisiana, ceded to the United States by France under the first Napoleon for \$15,000,000.

1805, July 15. Under orders from General Wilkinson, Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike leads an exploring expedition up the Arkansas river.

1805, November 15. Lieutenant Pike sights the peak that bears his name, and spends several months in exploration. (*Pike's Narrative*, Phila., 1810.)

1812. Creation of the territory of Missouri, including Colorado.

1819. Expedition of Major Stephen S. Long. He reports the region between the thirty-ninth and forty-ninth parallels as "The Great American Desert."

1828-1830. James Baker settles on Clear creek, four miles north of Denver.

1830. A French trader, Maurice by name, is believed to have made a settlement on Adobe creek in the Arkansas Valley; positive proof is lacking.

1832. The Bent brothers build Fort William, on the north branch of Arkansas river. This is the first authentic settlement in the state. During the same year, one Louis Vasquez opened a trading post five miles northeast of Denver.

1838. First attempt at farming. American and Mexicans began irrigation for agricultural purposes at El Pueblo, near Fort William.

1841. Transit through Colorado, *en route* for the Pacific Coast, of the first "prairie schooner."

1842 (about). A settlement formed by Bent, Lupton, Beaubain, and others on headwaters of Adobe creek; exterminated by Indians in 1846. Town of La Junta founded by James Bonney, on a Mexican grant subsequently confirmed by the United States.

Captain (afterward General) John C. Frémont leads an expedition into the territory.

1843. Frémont's second expedition. He finds a few scattered fortified ranches; but many of the early settlers had intermarried with Mexicans or Indians and were in a fair way to relapse into barbarism.

1845. The section south of the Arkansas river, originally part of Texas, now included in Colorado, is annexed to New Mexico and Kansas.

1846. That part of the state lying west of the Great Divide ceded to the United States by Mexico under the Gadsden purchase.

1846-1847. The first "Mormon

battalion," forcibly expelled from Illinois, passes the winter at Pueblo. (See *Tyler's History*, Salt Lake City, 1881.) Birth of the first white American child in Colorado—Malinda Catherine Kelley.

1849. Wagon trains of gold hunters begin to cross Colorado *en route* to California.

1851, September 17. Treaty of the United States with the Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes as to boundaries.

1852. Gold discovered on Ralston creek by a cattle trader, Parks by name.

Fort William removed to the mouth of Purgatoire river, on the Arkansas.

1853. Congress passes an act authorizing surveys of railroad routes from the Mississippi to the Pacific.

October 26. Captain J. W. Gunnison, U. S. A., killed with his escort by Indians.

1858. A party from Lawrence, Massachusetts, lay out El Paso on the present site of Colorado Springs, and St. Charles on the present site of Denver. During the winter the St. Charles site was "jumped" by settlers who saw its advantages, and the name was changed to Denver.

November 6. The settlers of Auraria (now East Denver) send Hiram J. Graham and Albert Steinberger (afterward "King" of the Samoan Islands) to Washington, as territorial delegates. They were not officially recognized.

1859. Misled by a publication entitled *A Guide to Pike's Peak* (Pacific City, Iowa, 1858), as many as one hundred and fifty thousand immigrants move into Colorado. In the autumn about one-third of them return, disappointed, to the Mississippi.

January 15. Gold discovered at Gold Run, Boulder Cañon, by John Rothrock, Charles Clouser, and others. The product of this gulch for the first season was one hundred thousand dollars, all washed out in hand rockers.

Formation of the "El Paso Claim Club," with the purpose of formulating and enforcing provisional land laws.

May. John H. Gregory discovers gold at Blackhawk.

First school in Colorado opened at Denver by O. J. Goldrick.

Autumn. Gold discovered in what is now the Leadville region.

Colorado gold coined, \$622,000.

December 19. Denver incorporated as a city by the provisional legislature; population, 34,277.

Fort William leased to the government, and named Fort Wise after the governor of Virginia.

1860-1863. A state of law-respecting anarchy prevailed—Kansas laws, miners' law, and territorial law being enforced in different localities, often overlapping each other's territory without serious friction.

1860. Population, 34,277. Gold coined, \$2,091,000.

March 28. Election held under the laws of Kansas, to organize Arapahoe county.

May 7. Preliminary steps taken to draft a constitution.

October 5. An election was held. Beverly D. Williams chosen delegate to congress, and Richard Sopris to the Kansas legislature. Mr. Sopris only was recognized.

University of Colorado incorporated. (See 1877.)

October 10. Territorial convention at Auraria.

October 24. R. W. Steele chosen territorial governor of Jefferson (otherwise known as "Pike's Peak").

November 7. Meeting of the first legislature, remaining in session forty days. R. W. Steele, governor.

1861, February 8. Colorado admitted as a territory by act of congress. William Gilpin, governor; Lewis Ledyard Weld, lieutenant-governor.

September 9. Meeting of the first territorial legislature at Denver. Colorado Springs selected as the capital.

November 7. Denver reincorporated by the territorial legislature. Charles A. Cook, mayor.

The territory of Colorado organized from parts of Utah, New Mexico, Kansas, and Nebraska.

Boundaries defined along parallels of latitude and longitude, cutting off large tracts from Utah, Kansas, Nebraska, and New Mexico.

1861-1862. William Gilpin territorial governor by appointment of President Lincoln.

The confederates, under General Sibley, invade New Mexico with a view to cutting off communication between California and the east.

The territory repudiates the secession movement, though attempts were made in the interest of the confederacy. Governor Gilpin organizes the 1st Colorado regiment, which did good service in New Mexico.

1861-1865. 4,903 men furnished the Union Army during the civil war.

1862. Capital removed to Golden City. (See 1868.)

- 1862-1865. John Evans, governor.
- 1863, April 19. Fire destroys the business section of Denver.
- October 1. Telegraphic communication opened between Denver and the east.
1864. General Indian war, thousands of settlers massacred, and hundreds of homes broken up.
- The University of Denver (Methodist) established. Silver discovered.
1865. Congress passes a bill admitting Colorado as a state, but the president (Andrew Johnson) vetoes the measure, there being no proof of the required population.
- 1865-1867. Alexander Cummings, governor.
- 1867-1869. A. Cameron Hunt, governor.
- 1869-1873. Edward M. McCook, governor.
1870. Population, 39,864. Population of Denver, 4,749.
1871. Colorado Springs founded as a health resort (6,000 feet above the sea). The Denver & Rio Grande railroad begun. (See 1878.)
- November. Boulder City incorporated.
1872. Completion of the first tramway in Denver.
- 1873-1874. Sam'l H. Elbert, governor.
1874. Colorado college opened at Colorado Springs.
- 1874-1876. John L. Routt, governor.
1876. Discoveries of rich silver deposits in the Leadville region.
- The Ute war. Terrible atrocities by Indians, and bloody vengeance on the part of the whites.
- August 1. Colorado admitted to the Union as a state.
- October 3. First state election. John L. Routt, governor; Lafayette Head, lieutenant-governor.
- November 1. Meeting of the first state legislature. Jerome B. Chaffee and Henry M. Teller chosen United States senators.
- Estimated population, 135,000.
1877. University of Colorado opened at Boulder, endowed by congress, the state, and private gifts.
- 1877-1879. John L. Routt, first state governor.
1878. Completion of the Denver & Rio Grande railroad. (See 1871.)
1879. Phenomenal growth of Leadville. More than \$25,000,000 of precious metals mined during the year. Strikes and lawless proceedings suppressed with difficulty.
- 1879-1883. Fred. W. Pitkin, governor.
1880. Population, 194,327. Population of Denver, 35,629.
- 1883-1885. James B. Grant, governor.
1885. Population, 243,910.
- 1885-1887. Benj. H. Eaton, governor.
- 1887, August. Border fighting with the Utes, begun by lawless whites.
- 1887-1889. Alva Adams, governor.
1888. Soldiers' and Sailors' Home provided by the legislature at San Luis Park.
- 1889-1891. Job A. Cooper, governor.
1890. Population, 412,198. Assessed valuation, \$220,544,064.62. Pike's Peak railway completed. January to April session of the legislature marked by a struggle of rival factions in the lower house. It was settled by an appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court. Passage of an Australian ballot law.
- 1891-1893. John L. Routt, governor.

(Conclusion of the series.)

History in Brief



THE FIRST PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON.—The frontispiece to this number is a copy of the first portrait ever made of George Washington. In a letter to the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, the rector of the parish which included Mount Vernon, dated May 21, 1772, Washington thus playfully speaks of the ordeal of having his portrait painted: "Inclination having yielded to importunity, I am now, contrary to all expectation, under the hands of Mr. Peale; but in so sullen a mood, and now and then under the influence of Morpheus when some critical strokes are making, that I fancy the skill of this gentleman's pencil will be put to it, in describing to the world what manner of man I am."

The Mr. Peale here referred to was Charles Willson Peale, the celebrated portrait painter of those days. In 1872 Washington was just turned of forty. Yet, although young, he was already famous, and had been so for nearly seventeen years, or ever since Braddock's defeat in 1755. Hence, there seemed to be great reason that his portrait should be painted; yet not till this date had he consented to have it done. This was therefore the earliest portrait. He was then still a colonel in the Virginia colonial militia, and in this uniform he sat for his picture. The artist used it as the study from which to prepare the three-quarter length portrait of Washington known as the "Arlington

portrait." But as events progressed, a few changes were made in colors. The colonial colonel's uniform became the continental general's blue and buff.

Peale retained the original study in his own possession, and it formed part of his exhibition at his museum in Philadelphia. He died in 1827, but not till twenty-seven years later, or in 1854, was his gallery offered for sale and dispersed. Then this first portrait of Washington came into the possession of Mr. Charles S. Ogden. On Washington's birthday, 1892, this gentleman adopted a very nice mode of celebrating the day, by presenting this exceedingly interesting piece of canvas to the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

The mover of the resolution of thanks, in closing his remarks, said: "In the history of American portraiture this portrait of Washington, in consequence of its being the first authentic original, will always occupy a prominent position, and the members of the society have good reason to congratulate themselves on its acquisition."

AN INJUSTICE DONE TO WINTHROP—No historian or editor is infallible. The most scrupulous and painstaking must answer for sins of omission and commission. But not unfrequently these blunders are so gratuitous and palpable as to occasion astonishment. An unhappy and injurious mistake of this sort is the

editorial note to page 220 of vol. ii. of Winthrop's *History of New England* [By James Savage.—Little, Brown & Co., Boston, 1853].

The matter is so interesting in itself, while the comment does certain fathers of the Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth colonies so great an injustice, that the note should be given entire. The error may have been pointed out before, but as the work is in common use, it cannot be amiss to speak of it here. It concerns the attitude of the people of New England, and especially of Boston, in the year 1644, toward La Tour and his adversary, D'Aulnay Charnisay, some account of which has already been given in the preceding number of this magazine. Those stern religionists, men of conscience, truth, and sobriety, as we naturally esteem them, this editor convicts, not only of putting a very loose construction upon the obligations of neutrality in respect to the rival governors, but he goes further and demonstrates to his own satisfaction their insincerity, nay their injurious misrepresentation, their injustice and falsehood in attributing to one party an offense well known to have been committed by the other. In an off-hand way, with little consideration apparently of the seriousness of the charge, he supposes them quite capable of knowingly holding a man responsible for what he never did, while the real and known offender they thus acquit. Were this really true, no allowance for the times could excuse or even palliate such a course. The verdict of downright hypocrisy could not be withheld. Now to the note and the evidence. Mr. Savage remarks:

"Very inadequate ideas of the obligations of neutrality, or very slight regard for its laws, must be observable in the management of affairs here, in which the rival French governors felt any interest. For La Tour the greater number had engaged in actual war on D'Aulnay in the former year, and had met no better success than their cause deserved. But the acts of injury or violence done by one of these strangers would have been imputed to the other, perhaps, without hesitation, if reparation could by such a course have been obtained. A curious document to illustrate this point was given me by the late Judge Davis:

Whereas about two yeares since Mouns'r D'Aulnay under pretence or color of comerce did violently and injuriously take possession out of the Hands and custody of the Agents and servts. of Edward Winslow, William Bradford, Thomas Prence, and others their ptners at Matchebiguatus in Penobscot, together with divers and sundry goods to their great losse, even to the valew of five hundred pounds or thereabout; And forasmuch as no satisfaces' hath ever been made and tendered by the sd Mouns'r D'Aulnay, for the sd Possession or goods by any his Agents; The sd Edw. Winslow for himself and ptners hath and doth by these prnts fully surrender and make over his and their pp right and title, not only to the said possession of lands in Machebiguatus aforesaid but to their fortificon, howsing, losse and damages, right and privileges thereunto belonging to Joh. Winthrop, Junior, Esq, Serjant Major Edw. Gibbons and Captain Thomas Hawkins, all of Boston, in New Engld, to them, their heires, associats, and assignes forever. Allowing and investing them with all such lawfull power by force of Arms or otherwise to recover the said Possession, fortificacons, howsing, lands, goods, etc., to them the said Edw., William, Thomas, and other their ptners at Machebiguatus aforesaid apptayning. And the same to have and to hold, occupy and enjoy, to

them the said Joh. Winthrop, Esq., Serjant Major Gibbons, and Captain Thomas Hawkins, their heires, Associats and Assignes forever, together with all such privileges as apptayneth thereunto. In witness whereof the said Edward Winslow hath put his hand and seale the last of August, 1644.

Per me Edward Winslow, Gov'r at
prnt of New Plym.

Witnesses hereunto

HERBERT PELHAM
JOHN BROWN

{ SEALE }
{ A Pelican }

"The seal," our editor continues, "is very perfect, the whole instrument in excellent preservation. One very remarkable thing about this transaction is, that the contemporary relation of the French act at Machias in 1633 by Governor Winthrop charges it as done by La Tour, and in the following year a reference to it uses the *same* commander's name.

"We can construe this deed by Winslow, at this late date, only as his desire to hold D'Aulnay responsible for the wrong done so many years before by La Tour; and it might seem an unfair attempt to retaliate by force. Luckily D'Aulnay was too strong, or we might have had to blush for outrages under *such* letters of marque, perpetrated by Major Gibbons or Captain Hawkins."

So we are asked to believe that Winslow, Bradford, Prence, John Winthrop junior, Gibbons, Hawkins, with their partners and associates, were implicated in such a business as that! How with the facts and documents before one such an unjust, false, and slanderous construction could have been entertained for one moment will remain the inexplicable thing. The inference has scarcely a shadow of foundation. A complete

refutation lies within the manuscript this writer was editing. It is evident in the very materials of the notes. The opening clause of the deed recites that D'Aulnay's offense occurred "about two years since," that is, in 1642, while as the writer shows by Winthrop's testimony, the La Tour affair happened in 1633, or nine years earlier. One event took place "at Matchebiguatus in Penobscot," the other at Machias, which the writer assumes to be the same place. Whatever part of Penobscot might be intended, it remains that the Bay of Penobscot is from Machias Bay eighty miles distant as the crow flies, and instead of the places being identical, they must have been one hundred miles or more apart by the sailing route. Lastly, the parties in interest in the two cases were different persons and from different localities. Although in the first instance of the La Tour affair a Plymouth man is mentioned as principal, it is neither Winslow, Bradford, nor Prence, but Mr. Allerton; and it afterward appears that a Mr. Vines of Saco controlled the goods and established the port such as it was. Moreover there was at Machias at that time no plantation, fortification, or appropriated lands as mentioned in the Penobscot deed, but only "a wigwam" or cabin occupied by five of Mr. Vines's men for trading purposes.

All this appears in Mr. Savage's own volumes under the faithful hand of Governor John Winthrop, by whom the case is recited upon the testimony before himself of both Mr. Vines and Lord La Tour face to face, the year previous to the making of the Penobscot deed. The

egregiousness and almost unpardonable nature of this error will be manifest when we give Winthrop's accounts entire. His first note in the autumn of 1633 is as follows :

"News of the taking of Machias by the French, Mr. Allerton of Plimouth and some others had set a trading wigwam there, and lost in it five men and store of commodities. La Tour, governor of the French in those parts, making claim to those parts, came to displant them, and, finding resistance, killed two men and carried away the other three and the goods."

About ten years later, in June, 1643, when La Tour came to Boston in the ship *Clement*, seeking aid to raise the siege of Fort La Tour, this old matter came up, and we get the story in detail from the two parties in interest, one of them an eye-witness. Winthrop writes :

"And whereas he [La Tour] was charged to have killed two Englishmen at Machias not far from his fort and to have taken away their goods to the value of five hundred pounds, Mr. Vines of Saco, who was part owner of the goods and principal trader, etc., being present with La Tour, the Governor heard the cause between them, which was thus : Mr. Vines being in a pinnace trading in those parts La Tour met him in another pinnace and bought so many of his commodities as Mr. Vines received then of him four hundred skins, and although some of Mr. Vines his company had abused La Tour, whereupon he had made them prisoners in his pinnace, yet at Mr. Vines entreaty he discharged them with grave and good counsel, and acquainted Mr. Vines with his commission to make

prize of all such as should come to trade in those parts, and thereupon desired him peaceably to forbear, etc., yet at his request he gave him leave to trade the goods he had left, in his way home, so as he did not fortify or build in any places within his commission, which he said he could not answer it if he should suffer it ; whereupon they parted friendly. Mr. Vines landed his goods at Machias, and there set up a small wigwam, and left five men and two murderers to defend it, and a shallop, and so returned home. Two days after La Tour comes, and casting anchor before the place, one of Mr. Vines' his men came on board his pinnace, and while they were in parley four of La Tour his men went on shore. One of the four which were in the house seeing them, gave fire to a murderer, but it not taking fire, he called to his fellow to give fire to the other murderer, which he going to do, the four French retreated, and one of the muskers went off (La Tour sayeth it was by accident and that the shot went through one of his fellow's clothes, but Mr. Vines could say nothing to that). It killed two of the men on shore, which La Tour then professed himself innocent of, and very sorry for ; and said further that the five men were at that time all drunk, and not unlikely, having store of wine and strong water, for had they been sober, they would not have given fire on such as they had conversed friendly with but two days before, without once bidding them stand, or asking wherefore they came. After this La Tour coming to the house and finding some of his own goods (though of no great value) which had a little time before been taken out of

his fort at St. Johns by the Scotch and some English of Virginia (where they had plundered all his goods to a great value and abused his men,) he seized the three men and the goods and sent them to France according to his commission, where the men were discharged, but the goods adjudged lawful prize. Mr. Vines did not contradict any of this, but only that he did not build or fortify at Machias, but only set up a shelter for his men and goods. For the value of the goods Mr. Vines showed an invoice which came to three or four hundred pounds, but La Tour said he had another under the men's hands that were there which came not to half so much. In courtesy he promised that he would refer the cause to judgment, and if it should be found that he had done wrong, he would make satisfaction."

The above account in the main bears the unmistakable marks of truth; though as to La Tour's story of the "musker" discharging accidentally through a friend's clothing and killing two enemies on the shore, the event is so extraordinary we may be pardoned for taking it with a grain of salt, or even dismissing it as a sailor's or (worse yet) a fur-trader's yarn. Yet the thing is within the range of possibility, and to swallow the tale whole without a wink would seem no tax upon credulity at all in comparison with what is required in gratuitously supposing a conspiracy of such prominent men of character to saddle the notorious affair of La Tour upon another—a studious scheme to make reprisals upon a party known to be innocent, and that for a matter already settled.

The well-known truth is that D'Aulnay Charnisay did seize Penobscot and hold it for years, having dispossessed the Plymouth people, who in turn had seized it previously, dispossessing Claude, the father of Charles La Tour.

AN EYE-WITNESS OF BURGOWNE'S SURRENDER¹—The following letter was written by Colonel Dudley Colman, of Newbury, Mass., to his friend, Colonel Moses Little, member of the House of Representatives, and affords a unique view of the surrender of Burgoyne, by an eye-witness of that important event in the war of the Revolution :

"CAMP ALBANY, Oct. 28, 1777.

DEAR SIR :—I have the pleasure, though late, to congratulate you on the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne and his army. Some of them doubtless you will have the pleasure of seeing before this reaches you. It may I think be reckoned among the extraordinary events, history furnishes us with, to have 5,000 and upwards of veteran, disciplined troops, besides followers of the army, surrounded, and their resources and retreat so cut off in the field, as to oblige them to surrender prisoners of war, without daring to come to further action, is an event I do not recollect to have met with in history, much less did I ever expect to see it in this war, I confess I could hardly believe it to be a reality when I saw it, the prospect was truly extremely pleasing to see our troops paraded in the best order, and to see march by as prisoners, after they had laid down their arms, those who but a few days before had pretended to despise us (although at the same time I believe they did not think so lightly as they pretended). I can but mention the good order observed by our troops on seeing them march by, no laughing or marks of exultation were to be seen among them, nothing more than a manly joy appeared on the countenances of our

¹ Contributed by Lida C. Tulloch, Washington, D.C.

troops, which showed that they had fortitude of mind to bear prosperity without being too much elated, as well as to encounter the greatest hardships and dangers. It has likewise been observed to me by several of the British officers that they did not expect to be received in so polite a manner, and that they never saw troops behave with more decency, or a better spirit on such an occasion.

We have, I think, for the present, restored peace in the northern quarter, and, although for a little time past viewed the evacuation of Ticonderoga as a misfortune, we may now see it has proved a means of destroying this enemy.

Gen. Clinton has of late made an attempt to come up the river, and has destroyed several places in order to make a diversion in favor of Gen. Burgoyne, but he was too late. We expect orders to strike our tents every day, as we have been under marching orders these three days, and part of the army are gone. I know not where we are to march to, but suppose it to be down the river, when if we can get between the enemy and their ships, we shall endeavor to convince them that they are not to proceed in the way they have done, of destroying the property of our fellow-countrymen. Please to give my best regards to Mr. Gray and family, and all friends, and I shall be happy to have a line from you.

I am, dear sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,
DUDLEY COLMAN.

To Col. Moses Little, member of the House of Representatives."

"HOW WE LOSE OUR HISTORY"—

Under this caption a Charleston journal raises a cry of distress over the neglect to secure valuable documents relating to the history of the State of South Carolina, manifested by its own citizens, as contrasted with the commendable appreciation of these on the part of citizens of other States. It says:

"It appears that our historian and novelist, William Gilmore Simms, in

1868, broken in fortune by the results of the war, and unable even with his brilliant pen to avert the *res angusti domi*, was compelled to part with his collection of letters and manuscripts, the labor of many years and the fruit of unremitting study and investigation. Messrs. J. Carson Brevoort, H. E. Pierrepont, and sixteen other gentlemen of New York contributed the sum of \$1,500, which was paid Dr. Simms in 1868 for his invaluable manuscripts, now to be found in the archives of the Long Island Historical Society. An idea of the character and value of the collection is fully set forth in a report of the society."

The application of the homily then follows, and should find an echo in every community that must plead guilty to the same inexcusable indifference.

"Only a Carolinian with a dead soul would not feel a pang of deep mortification and regret at reading such a statement, and yet it is gratifying to know that citizens of other States have not shown the same apathy and neglect which, with a few rare exceptions, have characterized our people for many years, and which it is the endeavor of the trustees of the Charleston Library to remedy.

"There are now scattered throughout the State, in private hands, numbers of letters and manuscripts which should, at least, be carefully preserved for publication in after times, if sufficient funds cannot be raised for their publication now. But there must be an institution, be it a library, historical society, State bureau of historical information, or what not, founded on so solid a financial basis

as will permit no doubts as to its safety and stability, in which their owners could deposit such documents for preservation. Otherwise, many valuable records may suffer the fate of ten boxes of the archives of the Confederate States which were burned in the residence of a gentleman in one of the upper counties of South Carolina some years ago; or may be fished out of a heap of old papers and rags in a junk shop, mutilated and almost entirely illegible, as was the case with a manuscript diary of a Confederate naval officer who served in Charleston harbor during the war."

A STORY OF A BRAVE DEED BRAVELY TOLD.—The article on Texas in the present number leads us to note that Mr. Richard Harding Davis, in *The West from a Car Window*, relates in his first chapter the story of the brave defense of the Alamo, in Texas. He approaches the subject with becoming modesty, it being, as he says, "more than a thrice-told" tale; but, nevertheless, he does not spoil it in telling it again, as he fears he will. We select some passages from his spirited account:

"On the 23d of February, 1836, General Santa Anna himself, with four thousand Mexican soldiers, marched into the town of San Antonio. In the old mission of the Alamo were the town's only defenders, one hundred and forty-five men, under Captain Travis, a young man twenty-eight years old. With him were Davy Crockett, who had crossed over from his own State to help those who were freeing theirs; and Colonel Bowie (who gave his

name to a knife, which name our government gave later to a fort), who was wounded and lying on a cot. . . . On the 3d of March, 1836, there was a cessation in the bombardment, and Captain Travis drew his men up into single rank and takes his place in front of them. Captain Travis tells them that all that remains to them is the choice of their death, and that they have but to decide in which manner of dying they will best serve their country. They can surrender and be shot down mercilessly, they can make a sortie and be butchered before they have gained twenty yards, or they can die fighting to the last, and killing their enemies until that last comes. He gives them their choice, and then stooping, draws a line with the point of his sword in the ground from the left to the right of the rank. 'And now,' he says, 'every man who is determined to remain here and to die with me will come to me across that line.' Tapley Holland was the first to cross. He jumped it with a bound, as though it were a Rubicon. 'I am ready to die for my country,' he said. And then all but one man, named Rose, marched over to the other side. Colonel Bowie, lying wounded in his cot, raised himself on his elbow. 'Boys,' he said, 'don't leave me. Won't some of you carry me across?' And those of the sick who could walk rose from the bunks and tottered across the line; and those who could not walk were carried. Rose, who could speak Spanish, trusted to this chance to escape, and scaling the wall of the Alamo, dropped into a ditch on the other side, and crawled, hidden by the cactus, into a place of safety.

Through him we know what happened before that final day came. He had his reward.

"Three days after this, on the morning of the 6th of March, Santa Anna brought forward all of his infantry, supported by his cavalry, and stormed the fortress. The infantry came up on every side at once in long black solid rows, bearing the scaling-ladders before them, and encouraged by the press of great numbers about them. . . . At the third trial the ladders are planted, and Mexicans after Mexicans scale them, and jump down into the pit inside, hundreds and hundreds of them, to be met with bullets and then by bayonet-thrusts, and at last with desperate swinging of the butt, until the little band grows smaller and weaker, and is driven up and about and beaten down and stamped beneath the weight of overwhelming and unending numbers. They die fighting on their knees, hacking up desperately as they are beaten and pinned down by a dozen bayonets, Bowie leaning on his elbow and shooting from his cot, Crockett fighting like a panther in the angle of the church wall, and Travis with his back against the wall to the west. The one hundred and seventy-two men who had held four thousand men at bay for two sleepless weeks are swept away as a dam goes that has held back a flood, and the Mexicans open the church doors from the inside and let in their comrades and the sunshine that shows them horrid heaps of five hundred and twenty-two dead Mexicans, and five hundred more wounded. There are no wounded among the Texans; of the one hundred and seventy two who were in the Alamo

there are one hundred and seventy-two dead.

"With an example like this to follow, it was not difficult to gain the independence of Texas, and whenever Sam Houston rode before his men crying, 'Remember the Alamo!' the battle was already half won."

FIRST SUGGESTION OF LINCOLN'S NAME—In Mount Vernon, Ohio, there died not long ago Mr. Israel Green. He had built up a comfortable drug business at Findlay, Ohio, in the early fifties of this century, but was a keen observer of political events, as well as a capable judge of their drift and significance. He was not a politician himself, and not an office-holder except to the extent of being a member of the State legislature for one term. He was a man of independent mind, and had given himself heart and soul to the anti-slavery cause. He had watched with eager zest the famous debates between Lincoln and Douglas, and had come to the conclusion that Abraham Lincoln was a man not only of alertness and ability in controversy, but possessed of the more solid qualities of the statesman, and endowed with the unflinching moral courage of the reformer. Mr. Green, therefore, became strongly convinced that Lincoln was the man to lead the hosts of anti-slavery to victory in the approaching presidential campaign. Accordingly, on November 6, 1858, he wrote to the Cincinnati *Gazette*, suggesting the name of Abraham Lincoln as presidential candidate. The letter was published in that journal, and appeared in its columns as follows:

A TICKET FOR 1860.

Correspondence of the Cincinnati *Gazette*.

FINDLAY, Ohio, Nov. 6, 1858.—Permit a daily reader of your valuable paper, residing in the Northwest, to suggest to the consideration of the triumphant and united opposition, the names of the following distinguished and patriotic statesmen as standard bearers in the approaching presidential election :

For President,
ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
of Illinois.
Vice President,
JOHN P. KENNEDY,
of Maryland.

There, sir, is a ticket that can command and receive the united support of the entire opposition. With the above ticket in the field, with a banner on which shall be inscribed union and harmony; protection to American capital and American labor, skill and enterprise; improvements of Western rivers and harbors; free labor and unrelenting opposition to the interference of the general government in favor of the spread of slavery; opposition to any further acquisition of foreign territory; to humbug squatter sovereignty; to the principles involved in the Dred Scott decision. Let us oppose the appointment to offices of profit members of either branch of Congress during the term for which they shall be elected; oppose extravagance and favoritism in the public expenses, and favor a return to the early principles and practices of the founders of our government. Let us preserve the elective franchise pure and untarnished.

With such standard bearers, and such a platform the great opposition or American Republican party can go before the people of the nation in 1860 with the full assurance of a triumphant victory over the present pro-slavery filibustering, border ruffian Democracy.

(Signed)

A MEMBER OF THE PHILADELPHIA CONVENTION
IN 1856.

This is believed to have been the first public suggestion of President Lincoln's name. Newspapers and politicians everywhere took it up, with the result that in 1860 the nomination of the head of the ticket at least, was made. Mr. Green deserves to be remembered with gratitude.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE SOCIETY OF COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA
ON THE DEATH OF MRS. MARTHA J.
LAMB.

Whereas, Mrs. Martha J. Lamb has been, in the Providence of God, called from life; and *whereas*, she was one of the founders of the Society of Colonial Dames of America, and was among those to whom the members are particularly indebted for the organization and inspiration at the start; therefore be it

Resolved, That this society hereby express its sense of loss and sorrow in the removal of this eminent and valued member; and

Resolved, That we do hereby formally express our appreciation and admiration of her as conspicuous in the literary world, profound and painstaking and accurate as an historian, so illustrious as the writer of the history of our city and country, so widely and respectfully regarded both at home and abroad, so affectionately held by those admitted to her friendship; and

Resolved, That we record this action in our minutes.

QUERIES

HOUSE OCCUPIED BY LAFAYETTE—Either while recovering from his wound received at the battle of the Brandywine, or during some other sickness, Lafayette occupied a farmhouse in a New Jersey village, not far from the Delaware. Can any of your readers state the exact location of this house, and whether it is still in existence?

P. Q. W.

DAVID CROCKETT—Was not an autobiography of David Crockett published? Can a copy be had, or is the work out of print?

BURNING OF THE TIGER—Mrs. Lamb, in her *History of New York City*, states that an account of the burning of this vessel in New York bay, in the winter of 1613-14, is found in a document dated

August 14, 1614, preserved among the archives at the Hague. As I do not find such document among Brodhead's collection of papers published by the state, will some one of your readers inform me whether such document is now at the Hague, or whether Mrs. Lamb was misinformed as to its existence? R. B. S.

THE FIRST PLACE OF WORSHIP ON MANHATTAN ISLAND—When Peter Minuit came over (in 1626) to establish colonial government in New Netherland, he brought with him two lay readers, and worship was conducted by them, and afterwards by Dominie Jonas Michaelius, from 1628 to 1633, in the loft of a "horse-mill." Can any of your readers tell just where that mill stood?

CLERICUS

REPLIES

FIRST COLLEGE PERIODICAL [xxviii. No. 4]—In reply to inquiry about college journalism, allow me to say that *The Literary Cabinet* was founded at Yale, 1806. *The Harvard Lyceum* was started at Harvard, 1810, and Edward Everett was one of the editors. *Before either of these, The Gazette* was started at Dartmouth, and as Daniel Webster was one of the principal contributors, and he graduated in the class of 1801, it was almost undoubtedly a product of the last century.

So *The North Carolina University Magazine* of 1844 is decidedly not "the first college periodical in the United States."

W. ARMITAGE BEARDSLEE

YONKERS, NEW YORK

OLDEST DWELLING HOUSE ERECTED IN NEW YORK STATE [xxix. 185]—It may be that the house in Southampton, L. I., built in 1648, is the *oldest* house in the sense that it has been preserved intact since it was built. But the writer will not claim surely that it was the *first* house erected within the bounds of the state. It may be permitted to mention in this connection that there are portions of the foundations still extant of the city tavern built by Director Kieft in 1642, which became the city hall in 1653, and was used as such until 1700. It is still in order, however, for some one to indicate if there be any dwelling-house in complete preservation, older than the Southampton house of 1648.

J. G. G.

NOTES FROM THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

ALABAMA—A colored Literary and Historical Society was organized on January 2, 1893, at Birmingham, and a paper appointed to be read at the first regular meeting on "The Nature, Necessity, and Object of such Society."

CALIFORNIA—The California Historical Society held its seventh annual meeting for the election of a board of directors, and a committee on publication, on January 10, 1893. A paper was read, entitled "Early California Schools and the Primitive Modes Employed in the Pre-American Era."

—The Historical Society of Southern California, Los Angeles—Perhaps the most valuable property owned by this association from a historical standpoint is the complete files of Southern California newspapers from 1850 to the present day. Great pains are taken to authenticate all documents coming to the society, so that when they pass upon its shelves they can be accepted with confidence by any Hume, Macaulay, or Carlyle who may happen to crop up to write a history for Southern California.

NOTE.—This department aims to present such notes of the proceedings of historical societies throughout the country as are of general historical interest, with such items of a local nature as will serve to stimulate the formation of new societies, or to encourage the activities of those already established. Thus we hope to furnish a comprehensive survey of the character of the actual historical work done by these organizations, and to indicate the growth everywhere of the historical spirit.

CONNECTICUT.—The Connecticut Historical Society of Hartford at a recent meeting voted not to allow out of its possession the tape printed with Professor Morse's first telegraphic message, which is requested by the Western Union Telegraph company for its museum. The society will permit it to be photographed. The society has also in its possession the identical United States flag that General B. F. Butler raised over the New Orleans custom house after the first flag was pulled down and torn to shreds by the people of New Orleans, on the occupation of the city by federal troops. It was in relation to this flag and the threats of the women of New Orleans to insult it, that Butler's famous order was issued for the arrest and prosecution of every woman found on the streets of the city after seven o'clock in the evening. The flag is a large, handsome silk one of regulation style, and shows no signs of wear or injury. After the war the flag was given to Gideon Welles, Lincoln's secretary of the navy, and by him was presented to the Historical Society.

—At the last regular meeting of the Fairfield County Historical Society, at Bridgeport, it was reported that the con-

tributions of books during the month include fifty volumes of the *New Englander*, by Rev. C. R. Palmer. They form a consecutive series from 1843 to the present time. Mr. Palmer also donated various other volumes, including one year of the London *Spectator*, which completes a set from many years back to the present.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—At a recent meeting of the Ladies' Historical Society of Washington, the attention of the members was given to various treatments of Scandinavian history and mythology.

—There has been some talk among those interested in the Georgetown of years gone by, of forming an historical society, whose main object will be to secure from the towns throughout Maryland and Virginia, and wherever they may exist, the scattered records, old maps, early newspapers, and other things of a historical nature relating to the town, and to preserve them in the rooms of the society with other historical documents that from time to time will make their appearance. Local relics of all descriptions will be collected, and officers periodically chosen to care for them. It is urged that such a society would receive earnest support from the best people of the place. It is said many of the documents which would be gathered together are now in possession of people residing at and in the vicinity of Hagerstown, Rockville, Frederick, Baltimore, and Alexandria.

ILLINOIS—The Chicago Historical Society is fortunate in having just se-

cured, through the liberality of Mr. Marshall Field, a valuable collection of historical documents. They are eight large volumes of letters of James Madison; one large volume of letters of General James Armstrong, minister to France under Jefferson, and secretary of war during the war of 1812; also letters of Joseph Jones, Washington's colleague in the constitutional convention; and of Edmund Randolph, attorney-general of the United States under Washington. They were purchased by J. C. McGuire of Washington, several years ago, from a member of Madison's family; at one time the state department offered a thousand dollars for them, which was refused. Mr. Field paid the price at which they are now held, seventy-five hundred dollars, and generously presented them to the Chicago society.

KANSAS—The eighth biennial report of the Kansas Historical Society, just issued, shows the work of the society and the condition of its library and collections up to November 15 last. There have been added to the library of the society during the two years, 2,183 volumes of books; unbound volumes and pamphlets, 7,710; volumes of newspapers and periodicals, 2,499; single newspapers containing matter of special historical interest, 734; maps, atlases, and charts, 3,253; manuscripts, 556; pictures and other works of art, 183; scrip, currency, and coin, 81; war relics, 23; miscellaneous contributions, 443. Hon. George T. Pierce of Goodrich, Kansas, has given the society a copy of

a pamphlet containing a satirical poem on De Witt Clinton, who was a presidential candidate in 1812; also a pamphlet containing a political lampoon on John Hancock, the bold signer of the Declaration of Independence, who was at the time of this publication, 1789, a candidate for governor of Massachusetts.

LOUISIANA—There was a meeting at Tulane university in January last, for the purpose of forming in New Orleans a society whose aim will be to collect historical literature and relics of any historical significance, so as to preserve them for reference. This meeting will be about the first of its kind in the south, but it is in line with the organization in New York known as the "Daughters of 1776 and 1812."

MAINE—At the last meeting of the Maine Historical Society a paper was read on "Pre-Columbian Discovery." The members of the Society were greatly interested and delighted in the witty and sarcastic comments made in the paper on the theories of the "Norse maniacs." Yet the reader regarded the sagas as legitimate and valuable sources of proof of Norse discoveries in America, but thought they should be supplemented, not by unauthenticated relics such as towers and mythical cities, but by study of the ancient records.

MARYLAND—Friday, January 27, was the 49th anniversary of the organization of the Maryland Historical Society. On

the corresponding day of the month of January, 1844, some eighteen or twenty gentlemen assembled in the office of the Maryland Colonization Society to organize an institution "for the purpose of collecting the scattered materials of the early history of this state and for other collateral objects." A stimulus was immediately given to literary taste in Baltimore by the establishment of the society. The first record of membership published in 1844 shows that there was hardly a gentleman in professional or mercantile life noted for cultivation who did not join the organization.

—Recently the Frederick County Historical Society was organized, and this was made the occasion for the following sensible observations on the part of the *Baltimore News*: "The organization of the Frederick County Historical Society is a matter that calls for more than passing note. Such bodies are urgently needed in each county in the state to preserve the local traditions and records which go to make up the story of its life. For years the Maryland Historical Society, located in this city, has been doing a great work, and one which future generations will richly appreciate; but even its efforts have been hampered to an incalculable extent by the almost entire lack of interest taken in historical research by residents of the counties. Otherwise well-informed and intelligent people in the state are lamentably deficient in knowledge concerning past events of their localities and of the individuals who have figured therein."

MASSACHUSETTS—At a regular meeting of the New England Historical Genealogical Society held in November, Professor John Fiske read a paper on "Charles Lee, the Soldier of Fortune." Professor Fiske reviewed at length Lee's well-known treachery to the American cause, and shed some additional light upon it; and his subsequent incapable conduct at the battle of Monmouth, resulting, as it did, in one of Washington's few recorded bursts of anger, was vividly narrated. He drew an instructive moral from the petulant and unprovoked outbreak which ultimately severed his relation with the army for the last time, although he had deserved cashiering in much more aggravated instances often before. At the January meeting the annual election of officers took place, ex-Governor William Claflin being re-elected president.

—Charles Francis Adams has offered to erect a memorial to Miles Standish if the Weymouth Historical Society will secure a site in the Wessagussett settlement, where Standish fought his decisive conflict with the Indians, April 6, 1623.

—At the annual meeting of the proprietors of the Nantucket Athenæum initiatory steps were taken to secure the establishment of an Historical Genealogical Society.

—The Old Colony Historical Society met at Taunton, in January, and listened to a paper by Rev. P. W. Lyman of Fall River, on "The Shay's Rebellion in Massachusetts." One or two interesting episodes of that alarming affair, which seri-

ously threatened the foundations of the newly established government, occurred in Taunton, to which the speaker paid especial attention. The librarian reported a number of documents received during the year, among them a "History of Fall River for One Hundred and Sixty Years to 1841, by Rev. Orrin Fowler, M. C."; also the "Brown University Alumni of Fall River; Sketches by Hon. John S. Brayton in 1888"—from the latter. The present number of members is five hundred and thirty-seven. Captain George A. Washburn presented an old subscription paper, bearing the names of prominent citizens of Taunton who had subscribed various sums for the benefit of the families of the Taunton Light Guard when they were called away at the outbreak of the rebellion. The society has recently come into possession of an ancient document of local interest, being a sermon preached by Elder Hinds of Middleboro in 1758. The manuscript was very well preserved.

—The annual meeting of the Fitchburg Historical Society was held in January last. A letter written in 1776, and signed by the selectmen of Fitchburg, was presented to the society. The letter was addressed to the "Committee of Clothing for the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay," and asked pay of the colony for the benefit of the heirs of John Gibson of Fitchburg, who was killed at the battle of Bunker Hill.

—A new society was organized in Boston last January by a number of gentlemen interested in preserving and perpetuating the historical records of this

commonwealth, to be known as "The Massachusetts Society." The aims and object of the society are announced to be "to collect and preserve mementos of our colonial ancestors; to propagate knowledge of their lives and deeds by the publication of ancient documents and records; to cultivate an interest in the history of our country, and more especially of the colonies of Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay; to encourage individual research into the part taken by our forefathers in the building of our nation; to promote intelligent discussion of events in which the people of our commonwealth have been concerned, in order that justice may be done to participants and false claims silenced; and to inspire among our members a spirit of fellowship based upon a proper appreciation of our common ancestry."

—The Watertown Historical Society held its regular monthly meeting in January. Mr. O. W. Dimick, principal of Wells School, Boston, delivered an address on "Marco Polo and his Book." This paper was prepared for the Old South lectures, and was considered so excellent that the author was invited to deliver it before the Brooklyn Institute of Brooklyn, N. Y. Miss Ellen M. Crafts, secretary of the society, read Joel Barlow's "Vision of Columbus." The evening was termed "Columbus night," and "Columbus" was the topic of discussion.

—The Roxbury Military Historical Society, Colonel Horace T. Rockwell president, held its annual dinner in Bos-

ton, January 26. Several prominent gentlemen interested in historical matters were present on the occasion. This society has already reached a membership of over three hundred, composed of the residents of the Roxbury district, and will soon commence the publication of interesting reminiscences connected with the military, political, and literary celebrities of Old Roxbury. The society is specially interested in furthering the proposition for the erection of a statue to Major-General Joseph Warren.

MINNESOTA—The monthly meeting of the State Historical Society was held at the capitol last night. The erection of a commodious building in which to house the society's treasures was recommended, and will be presented for legislative action. In the library and museum there are twenty-five thousand bound volumes, twenty-nine thousand unbound volumes, one hundred and forty-eight framed pictures, two hundred and eighty-two curios, one thousand manuscripts, and five hundred coins. In case the legislature does not provide funds for the erection of a new capitol building, it will be asked to make an appropriation of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for a fire-proof building for the society.

NEBRASKA—The annual meeting of the State Historical Society was held January 10 and 11, 1893, in the chapel of the State university, Lincoln. The sessions were of more than ordinary interest, and there will be an effort to get

the recognition from the legislature this winter that will be more commensurate with the importance of the objects of the association. The older settlers are beginning to see the need of gathering up the threads of their earlier history before the sources of the best information are silenced in the grave.

NEW JERSEY—The forty-eighth annual meeting of the New Jersey Historical Society was held in January at the state house, Trenton, with Judge Clement of the court of errors and appeals in the chair as president. One of the most interesting features was the reading of a paper, by corresponding secretary William Nelson, on "The Indians of New Jersey: Their Origin and Development; Their Language, Religion, and Government." Mr. Nelson said that while there was not a society in America for the purpose of studying this subject, there was one in Paris, the Société Americain; and of the international society organized for the same purpose—the Congrès International des Américanistes—about half of the six hundred members were Frenchmen, and only about twenty-five residents of the United States.

NEW YORK—The Jefferson County Historical Society has addressed itself to the task of trying to erect a building. Pledge papers are to be circulated in Watertown and other places. The object is heartily commended by the press of the county.

—The Long Island Historical Society has entered upon its records testimony of the high esteem in which its members held Abiel Abbott Low, who died on January 7, and Samuel McLean, who died on January 10. Mr. Low was a member of the board of directors of the society from the year of its organization, 1863, until his death. He was always active in its councils and gave much material assistance to it. Mr. McLean became a member of the board of directors in 1876. He had supervision of the erection of the society's present handsome home.

—The Onondaga Historical Association held its regular annual meeting at Syracuse, on January 3, for the election of officers and the annual organization of the board of directors. There was a large attendance of new members, and they were given representatives on the board for the ensuing year. Of the eighteen directors of the board six retire each year. President Kirkpatrick brought before the board the idea of noticing by some resolution or memorial the recent death of Martha J. Lamb, editor of the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, and a woman who has done much in the way of historical research throughout the state. A committee was appointed to make a report on the suggestion.

—The Buffalo Historical Society held its annual meeting, in its rooms in the library building, January 10. Two bequests were made to the society, one of five thousand dollars from the estate of the late Jonathan Scoville, and one of

five hundred dollars from the estate of the late William Moffatt. The retiring president in his address said among other things: "A gift of rare value to the people of the western counties of this state from the Hon. Henry F. Glowacki of Batavia was the original title deeds, surveys, field notes, maps, a voluminous correspondence, and other interesting details of the celebrated 'Holland Land Company's' purchase of several million acres of land in the territory now known as the counties of Erie, Niagara, Genesee, Chautauqua, Cattaraugus, Allegheny, Wyoming, and Orleans. These records supplemented by those previously in possession of this society are of inestimable value in determining vexed questions regarding original titles and boundaries of farm lands, and even of village and city lots, within the limits of the above named counties."

—The Oneida Historical Society, which has its headquarters in Utica, is planning to erect a monument to General Nicholas Herkimer, the hero of the battle of Oriskany. The grave of General Herkimer is in the town of Danube, Herkimer county, within sight of the railroads running along the Mohawk, and all travelers would see the monument and be reminded of the scenes enacted in that valley in the early days of the country. The battle-ground at Oriskany already bears a monument, and it is only fitting that the hero of the conflict should be similarly honored. The brave soldier's last resting place is by no means wholly neglected, but the modest headstone which marks the grave

of the famous fighter is not befitting his services to his country and to his native valley. The Herkimer house stands close by the general's grave, and measures for the restoration and preservation of this home merit the attention of every citizen of the Mohawk valley. The Herkimer house is one of the finest specimens of colonial architecture.

—The Rochester Historical Society arranged for a historical exhibition, representing scenes in the early history of the city, which were given in the Lyceum theatre on the evenings of January 23 and 24. See editorial notes.

OHIO—The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, Wednesday of last week, presented its eighth annual report to the governor. Among other things, it says on the subject of Fort Ancient: "This ancient fortification is the largest and most prominent work of the kind in America. Were it in Europe it would long before this time have been under the control of a society or state, and would have been restored to its ancient condition and carefully preserved." A model of Fort Ancient park in *papier maché* has been made by the National world's fair commission for exhibition there, at a cost of two thousand dollars. This model will be retained in Chicago at the close of the exposition.

—The New Century Historical Society of Columbus, at its annual meeting on January 9 last, took occasion to cele-

brate the day as being the one hundred and fourth anniversary of the signing of the treaty at Fort Harmer between the United States and the Indians of the Six Nations, in 1789.

PENNSYLVANIA—On February 11 the Wyoming Historical and Genealogical Society dedicated its handsome new building at Wilkesbarre.

—The Pennsylvania Historical Society has been making photographic copies of ancient wills, including those of five colonial mayors of Philadelphia, Lloyd, Morray, Shippen, Hudson, and Logan. They are to be inserted in some forthcoming publications of the society.

RHODE ISLAND—The annual meeting of the Rhode Island Historical Society met at Providence in January last. In the president's address mention was made of the members of the society who had died since the previous annual meeting; among whom was Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, editor of the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, a corresponding member of the society. A matter taken into serious consideration was that the society publish all papers read before it concerning Rhode Island history.

—The Rhode Island Veteran Citizens' Historical Association at their meeting in January listened to a paper on "The Valley of the Taunton River." The settlement and development of the various towns in this valley, and the

historic interest attached thereto, were discussed at length by the speaker, as also were the manufacturing industries so closely connected with Taunton.

—The annual meeting of the Rhode Island Soldiers' and Sailors' Historical Society occurred in January last. A feature of special interest was the reading of a paper by William H. Badlam of Dorchester, Mass., late second assistant engineer, United States navy, on "The Cruise of the Kearsarge and her Fight with the Alabama." During this engagement Mr. Badlam was in charge of the engines, his chief being ill. In reply to a question as to the alleged firing of the Kearsarge into the Alabama after she surrendered, Mr. Badlam said that being at his post, he could not, of course, see what transpired outside the vessel, but he always understood that as the latter vessel swung around, after her flag was struck, the battery of the opposite side was brought to bear on the Kearsarge. Two guns chanced to be loaded and were fired by the sailors. Captain Winslow at once concluded he was the victim of trickery, and three broadsides were returned before a white flag could be displayed by the rebel cruiser.

TENNESSEE—The Tennessee Historical Society met at Nashville in January last. The following donations were reported: a copy of *National Banner and Nashville Whig*, Nashville, Tennessee, July 13, 1832; specimens of yellow wood, *Virgilia lutea*; proceedings of the State Association of Confederate Veterans at their annual meeting at Franklin, Ten-

nessee; receipts from the Nashville Building Association from 1854 to 1861; also confederate and federal passports from 1861 to 1865.

VERMONT—The Bennington Historical Society met in January last. The directors of the Bennington Battle Monument Association, whose corporators are elected by the society, informed the meeting that the monument was in good condition and fully completed; that over three thousand visitors had paid for admittance to it the past year, and that the sum thus obtained has been sufficient to care for the property.

VIRGINIA—In January, a number of prominent gentlemen of Richmond met to organize the Richmond Literary and Historical Association. It is the hope of the originators of this movement "to perfect a literary, scientific, and historical society which will be the medium of elevating the great masses of the people to higher plane of intellectual life." A special object of this new society will be to collect materials which shall serve to illustrate the history of the negro in this country.

WASHINGTON—The recent organization of the Thurston County Historical Society at Olympia is awakening considerable interest among the early settlers of that distant portion of our Union. To these people the society has earnestly addressed itself. Pioneers are asked not to wait to have information drawn from them, but to visit the

secretary and voluntarily contribute any knowledge of past events they may have. Regular meetings will be held from time to time, when papers will be read on past events.

WEST VIRGINIA—The governor in his message takes occasion to commend the West Virginia Historical and Antiquarian Society for its praiseworthy efforts, and the great success which has attended them, in elucidating the history of the State. He advises the legislature to give them suitable aid, and to erect the society into a state institution.

WISCONSIN — The fortieth annual meeting of the Wisconsin Historical Society was held in January. The occasion was celebrated with great enthusiasm. The secretary's report, among several matters of interest, contains one point of especial importance; viz., the bibliography of Wisconsin authors. There is no similar bibliography of the writers of any American state, and the publication will be unique of its kind. The volume will contain about three hundred and fifty pages, the names of some nine hundred authors, and in the neighborhood of four thousand seven hundred titles of books, pamphlets, and magazine articles, written by Wisconsin people since 1836. "It will," says the secretary, "show to the world that a raw, western State, whose people have chiefly been employed in seeking for the material things of life, has in a little over half a century contributed in no small degree to the mass, as well as to the wealth, of American literature."

EDITORIAL NOTES

We desire to state that General James Grant Wilson, having edited the February number of the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY* in the emergency of the sudden change of proprietorship, has found it impossible to continue as editor, owing to the pressure of other literary engagements.

* *

We continue to notice, in various contemporary journals of all parts of the country, words of kindly appreciation of the worth and ability of the late lamented editor of the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*. One such remarks: "It will be many, very many, years before the literary world will enjoy the presence and reap the fruits of such an accomplished, patient, industrious, and painstaking student and writer as was Mrs. Martha J. Lamb. With her the truth was the thing desired, and she never faltered in her efforts nor did she grow weary in its pursuit."

* *

The Rochester (New York) Historical Society has undertaken a most unique project, which was carried to complete success in the latter part of January last. It was proposed to present a number of tableaux, some in pantomime and some with appropriate dialogues, illustrating the early history of the city.

The scenes presented were: "The Phelps and Gorham Purchase, 1788," in which a large number of Indians and settlers participated; "Purchase of the One-hundred-acre Tract;" "The First Post-office, 1813," "The War of 1812-1814," representing the parley between

the thirty-two Americans and the British forces, and the withdrawal of the latter; "Visit of Lafayette, 1825," in which the scene of his reception on the banks of the Erie by the people was enacted; "The Quilting Party, 1830," during which the ladies arrived in gorgeous raiment, talked the latest gossip while busy with their needles, took tea when the men arrived, discussed the innovation of using napkins at the table, and a hornpipe was danced, to the eminent satisfaction of the audience; "The Singing School, 1830," full of humor; "The Bachelors' Ball, 1845," notable for the large number of young women who appeared in the monnie musk; "The Fire Scene, 1845," which showed the old methods of "running with the machine" and the working of the same, and the way the firemen had of putting a jeering citizen to work. The first school and the first church-choir were also represented in character. For the school the stage was set to reproduce as nearly as possible the interior of the first school-house.

* *

Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, in speaking recently of his newly elected colleague, Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, took occasion to mention in terms of high praise his work on *George Washington*, which forms the subject of the book-essay in our present number. He said: "His life of *George Washington* seems to me the best portraiture of Washington in literature. I think it is a masterpiece of compact, yet ample, biography. I think it will grow in favor as time goes on, and is

likely to be the standard life of Washington for American youth for centuries to come."

* *

The publication is announced of an important work, to appear within a few weeks. It is entitled: *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution*, compiled by F. B. Heitman, of the war department at Washington, D. C. This work embraces information arranged as follows: First, general officers of the continental army, arranged according to rank, with dates of service of each. Second, list of military secretaries and aids-de-camp to General Washington, with dates of service as such. Third, chronological list of field officers of the line in successive order, arranged by states and regiments. Fourth, alphabetical list of officers of the continental army, including many officers of the militia, showing date of rank in each grade, all brevet commissions, all cases in which thanks, swords, or honors were conferred by congress, information as to dates and localities when and where officers were killed, wounded, captured, and exchanged, and in many cases dates of death of officers after leaving the service. Fifth, chronological and alphabetical list of battles, actions, etc. In the opinion of competent critics, who have examined advance sheets of this work, it will prove to be an important contribution to the literature of the Revolution, its value being especially enhanced by its accuracy.

* *

We have just received the first number of the fourth volume of the *Dedham*

Historical Register, published by the Dedham (Massachusetts) Historical Society. There are few societies in the country in more flourishing condition, as is evinced alone by this handsome periodical; few, excepting state societies, having either the courage or the financial ability to issue such at all. A beautiful engraving of the old courthouse, built in 1827, illustrates an article on the history of this building and its predecessors. Other papers and departments indicate the variety and interest of the labors undertaken by the members of this society. The board of editors has an equal representation of ladies and gentlemen.

* *

We are pleased to observe with how much eagerness in certain quarters, and with what general interest among all classes, the question is discussed in New York as to the disposal to be made of the city hall building, which dates from 1807, and is one of the most perfect types of architecture either the city or the country possesses. Whatever may be done with the structure, it is certain that no one thinks of merely demolishing it, a matter which would not have been greatly objected to at some other periods in American history. A similar question faces the citizens of Philadelphia. There it is not proposed to demolish or remove any notable building. But there is a project to clear away the surroundings of Independence hall, in order to emphasize, as it were, the importance of the latter. The historic spirit revolts, however, at the extent to which this work is to be carried, and pleads for the retention of some of the

houses on Independence square, not for their beauty, but for their being historically as well as architecturally in keeping with the hall. It is very gratifying to notice, by these evidences, to what an encouraging degree the people of this republic have grown to love and esteem the things that are old—that have a history.

* *

The "Hymn of the Alamo," of which a facsimile of the original copy from the author's hand appears in the present number, leads us to say that some interesting facts in regard to it will be furnished in a subsequent number. At present we do not possess all the data, but they have been promised.

* *

The Huguenot Society of America, at an executive meeting, passed the following appreciative resolution:

Resolved, That this committee most

deeply feels the sudden and grievous loss sustained by the Huguenot Society of America in the unexpected death of one of its most esteemed, active, and energetic members, the late Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, who passed from earth in this city on the second day of January, 1893; that this committee itself more especially grieves for the death of its fellow-member, who was ever most efficient in her services, regular in attendance on its meetings, and prudent, wise, and courteous in her advice and suggestions. As gentle, refined, and retiring as she was brilliant and intellectual, she will ever remain a model for those of her sex who shall enter the paths of literature.

* *

The opening article of the present number, on "New York in the Civil War," by General Rodenbough, is condensed from advance sheets of the third volume of the *Memorial History of New York City*.

MISCELLANEA

There are two people who get their mail from the Santa Clara (California) post-office whose names were a household word during the war of the rebellion. They are Mrs. Winchester, widow of the inventor of the famous Winchester rifle, a weapon that did such deadly and effective work during the stormy days of the sixties. The other is Miss Sarah Brown, daughter of "Old John Brown" of Harper's Ferry fame, "whose soul goes marching on." Both of these ladies are well known in Santa Clara, being seen on the streets almost daily.

We learn from the *Pittsburgh Despatch* that in 1803 the ship *Louisiana*, built at Elizabeth, on the Monongahela, for the ocean trade, left Pittsburgh for the Gulf of Mexico ballasted with bituminous coal. This it took clear around the coast to Philadelphia, readily disposing of it there for thirty-seven and one-half cents per bushel, or ten and one-half dollars per ton. The inhabitants of Pittsburgh bought window glass from the celebrated Hon. Albert Gallatin's factory, at New Geneva, on the Monongahela, in 1797, paying him for it from fourteen dollars to twenty dollars per box. These big profits were against Mr. Gallatin's best judgment, however. His financial foresight, which won him such a reputation as secretary of the United States treasury, was well displayed here. He reasoned with his partners in the glass factory, that those high prices would attract competition very soon, whereas if it was reduced to

four dollars and fifty cents per box they would earn a reasonable margin and prevent temptation to other capitalists at Pittsburgh. His advice was overruled. Window glass made in 1801 at Denny & Beelen's factory in Pittsburgh sold for twelve dollars per box of one hundred feet, but the size is not given.

In the death of Professor Horsford, Leif Erikson has lost a persistent and able defender as a claimant for the honor of discovering America. The famous chemist was fully convinced of the historical certainty of Leif's priority as a world discoverer, and he gave frequent evidence of the enthusiasm which he felt on the subject. Nevertheless, the discussion of this matter possesses comparatively little interest for the general public. It would, of course, be interesting to certainly know whether Leif or some adventurous explorer before him really did get aground on Cape Cod or rowed up the Charles; but, if it were so, mankind's stock of geographical knowledge gained little if anything from such experiences.

One of the most interesting relics of the late civil war is a piece of white toweling that was used as a flag of truce when the Confederate army surrendered to General Grant at Appomattox. It is owned by General E. W. Whitaker, who was a member of General Custer's staff, and who received it from Captain Sims, of Longstreet's staff, on

the morning of April 9, 1865. General Whitaker has treasured it during all these years. He was induced to part with a portion of it several years ago, when he gave half of it to his old commander, the late General Custer. Mrs. Custer afterward gave the fragment to the museum at West Point. On the small piece of the toweling appears the following statement, sworn to by General Whitaker before a notary public. "This is a piece of the cloth cut from the identical flag of truce which was used under orders of General R. E. Lee to ask a cessation of hostilities of the Federal army at 9 o'clock A. M., April 9, 1865, at Appomattox Court House, Virginia. This flag of truce, a large white towel, was in the hands of Captain Sims, of Longstreet's staff, when he met Custer's cavalry charge. It was used by me in the rebel lines at the request of Generals Longstreet and Gordon to announce the surrender of Lee to the infantry line of battle and also the cavalry."

The *Boston Advertiser* calls attention to the fact that as soon as Mr. Stevenson takes the oath of office as Vice-President he will be the possessor of a room that is both beautiful and historic. This is the room just off from the senate chamber which is used as the office of the Vice-President. In the senate wing of the capitol there are two rooms set apart, one for the President and one for the Vice-President. The former is but seldom used, while the latter is used daily as an office and contains some very interesting relics. On one of the walls of the room is a

painting of George Washington, and this painting is considered the best of Washington in existence. It was executed by Rembrandt Peale in 1795. Peale had three sittings of Washington. At that time dentistry was not practiced as scientifically as it is at the present day, and it is a historical fact that at each of these sittings Washington used raw cotton as a substitute for false teeth, so as to fill out the mouth and cheeks. This gives his face a very determined look, and not the peaceful expression with which he is generally credited in portraits.

Stored away in the archives of the state department is a collection of historical papers, the most valuable, in all probability, in the United States. They include the letters, diaries, books, and other memoranda from the founders of the republic, and are constantly in demand by students and writers of history. The frequent handlings which they have received have seriously damaged some of them; and that they may be preserved for the use and information of succeeding generations of investigators, the department has for several years been engaged in the work of arranging, indexing, and binding them. When this work is finished (it will require another decade at least, unless the force is increased) the manuscripts will be in such a condition that they may be conveniently handled by the investigator without harm to the documents themselves, and any particular paper may be readily found. First in importance and value of all the papers in the department, the librarian places the

records of the continental congress, which came to it by inheritance. Although the art of verbatim reporting was not exercised in those days, the records contain not a little of what was said by the fathers and founders of the country, and a complete transcript of all the business proposed and transacted. The magnitude of the state department's collection of Jefferson papers may be inferred from the fact that twenty-five thousand titles have been written for the new index of them, a number representing but two-thirds of the whole collection. Thomas Jefferson certainly made his mark.

A document preserved by a gentleman of Goshen, New York, gives us an interesting glimpse of the status of the Revolutionary army at the time negotiations of peace were pending. The soldiers were only conditionally discharged, as there might be serious business on hand again.

"By His Excellency
George Washington, Esq ;
General and Commander in Chief of the
Forces of the United States of America.

These are to Certify that the Bearer hereof John Miller, Private in the Second New York Regiment, having faithfully served the United States three years and six months and being inlisted for the War only, is hereby Discharged from the American Army.

Given at Head-Quarters,
G. WASHINGTON.
By His Excellency's Command,
J. TURNBULL, Ad. Sy.

Registered in the Books of the Regiment,
CHRIST'E HILTON, Lt & Adjutant."

The reverse side of the document contains the following :

"Head-Quarters, June Seventh, 1783.
The within Certificate shall not avail the Bearer as a Discharge, until the Ratification of the definitive Treaty of Peace ; previous to which Time, and until Proclamation thereof shall be made, He is to be considered as being on Furlough.
GEORGE WASHINGTON."

"The word 'Missouri' properly means 'wooden canoe,'" says the *St. Louis Republic*. "Among the Abenakis, or Indians of Maine, a boat or canoe was called 'A-ma-sui.' With the Narragansetts it was 'Me-shu-e ;' with the Delawares it was 'Ma-sho-la ;' with the Miamis about Lake Michigan it was 'Missola ;' with the Illinois tribe it was 'Wicwes-Missuri' for a birch-bark canoe, and 'We-Mis-su-re,' or 'We-Mes-su-re,' for a wooden canoe or canoe fashioned from a log of wood. The name Missouri was originally applied by the Illinois and other Indians of the Lake Michigan region to the tribe of Indians living west of the Mississippi and along the great Muddy River. The term, liberally interpreted, meant 'the wooden canoe people,' or, 'the people who use wooden canoes.' The Lake Michigan Indians uniformly used birch-bark canoes, while the Indians on the Muddy River used Caunoes dug out of logs. The turbulent stream (the Missouri) was not adapted to frail bark vessels, and the use of log canoes was to the lake Indians such a peculiarity that they named the tribe or people using them from this characteristic."

RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS. By WILLIAM P. TRENT. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1892. (American Men of Letters Series.)

The present volume, in literary ability and excellence of treatment, is fully up to those of the series heretofore published. Pausing a moment to consider its style, we would remark that Professor Trent's manner is exceedingly attractive. He chats somewhat familiarly with his reader occasionally, and even with some pleasantries, yet we cannot say that he at all becomes undignified, even here. In explaining the very happy and apposite title of one of his chapters: "Romantic Dreams and Political Nightmares" (treating of Simms's sympathy with and advocacy of secession principles), the author observes: "During the twelve years from 1850 to 1861 inclusive, Simms lived in two very different worlds. In both he dreamed dreams and saw visions, the difference between which has been briefly indicated in the heading of this chapter. . . . As a bad beginning makes a good ending, it may be as well to begin with the nightmares; and if the reader wonders how any good can come out of nightmares, he is requested to preserve his patience for a while."

We would have no occasion to consider this book at all, were it not that, in the first place, Simms, besides being a poet and a novelist, was also a historian. Yet the infusion of this character was so exceedingly faint that his biographer wisely makes very little of it. He wrote and edited biographies of Marion and Greene, to which Professor Trent devotes a few sentences. He wrote, also, a *History of South Carolina*, of which our author says nothing at all except in the bibliography of Simms. He is entitled to more credit as a writer of novels treating of revolutionary times; but the literary quality of these (which we ought hardly to discuss here) is so dangerously near the level of the multiple-initialed Mrs. Southworth and Sylvanus Cobb of *New York Ledger* fame, that possibly it might not do to press them too strongly upon the notice of historical students.

The real claim of this delightful little book to our attention here, lies in the historical value of the treatment itself. The author gives us clear and interesting views of the condition of things at the South long preceding and immediately preceding the violent outbreak of the civil war. Speaking of Charleston and its significance, Professor Trent says: "What Boston has been to

New England, that has Charleston been to South Carolina, one may almost say, to the southern states. Indeed, it would be nearer the mark, if one may compare small things with great, to say that Charleston is to South Carolina as London is to England. . . . Just as London has been the literary, social, and political centre of England, so has Charleston, since its founding, been the literary, social, and political centre of South Carolina."

The explanation of southern society, of its faults as of its virtues, our author finds in a survival of feudalism, which was encouraged by the system of slavery, and the interaction of these two things upon each other: "If there be one fact that stands out before the student of antebellum southern history, it is that the southern people, down to 1861, were living a primitive life, a life full of survivals. . . . The southern people were descendants, in the main, of that 'portion of the English people who,' to quote Professor Shaler, 'had been least modernized, who still retained a large element of the feudal notion.' . . . Feudal-minded cavaliers were the people of all others to whom over-lordship would be natural and grateful. What wonder, then, that slavery struck its roots deep, or that the tree over which it spread its poisonous tendrils should soon show signs of decay? Slavery helped feudalism and feudalism helped slavery, and the southern people were largely the outcome of the interaction of these two formative principles."

The true position of slavery as a political force is brought out by Professor Trent. It was the bond of union, the welding power that alone made the southern states one in any conflict they might have to endure: "In the south there was only one thing that knit the several states together, and that was slavery. Virginia, indeed, helped to populate some of her more southerly sisters, and was therefore somewhat venerated by them; and the best families in each state knew one another, and sometimes intermarried. Still, as a rule, each state cared for itself and thought no great deal of its neighbor. Even now there are abundant traces of this insular feeling to be discovered, although it does not often get into print." And the author then goes on to indicate the unhappy influence of this only bond of union: "Yet states knit together by slavery could not develop a true national feeling; for that there must be a consciousness of progress, a desire to share

in and further a common civilization. But progress and slavery are natural enemies, and the south had no great desire to progress except in her own way, which was really retrogression."

In this connection it is, of course, of peculiar interest to get a glimpse of Simms's own view of slavery, as a thoroughly representative southern thinker: "We beg, once for all, to say to our northern readers, writers, and publishers, that, in the south, we hold slavery to be an especially and wisely devised institution of heaven, devised for the benefit, the improvement, and safety, morally, socially, and physically, of a barbarous and inferior race, who would otherwise perish by famine or by filth, by the sword, by disease, by waste, and destinies forever gnawing, consuming, and finally destroying."

Perhaps we can do no better than to close this necessarily brief and inadequate notice, with a citation which, in a quaint and pleasant way, throws a flood of light upon the advance of modern historical writing over the uncritical practices of earlier times. Let not the sober-minded reader look upon either Professor Trent, or upon us in quoting him, as dealing in trivialities, in illustrating so great a subject by so homely an allusion: for a straw can show which way the wind blows. Speaking of a visit of Simms to New York city, our author remarks: "The southerner was true to his nature in paying delicate attentions to more than one fair maiden of Gotham. He probably wrote in their albums, and he certainly promised to send them barrels of peanuts on his return home. An aesthetically inclined biographer of the old school might have been tempted to write 'flow-ers' for 'peanuts' in the above sentence, but nowadays one must go by the record."

ADMIRAL FARRAGUT. By CAPTAIN A. T. MAHAN, U. S. N. With portrait and maps. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1892. (Great Commanders Series.)

This book has already been briefly noticed in the January number of this magazine, and the "series" to which it belongs properly indicated. A few additional observations will not be out of place, however, being warranted by the importance of the subject. They will refer particularly to some of the suggestive points in the great career described. It was, indeed, an extraordinary career; unusual in its length of service, exceeding a half-century—in fact, reaching threescore years, for he died in active service, before it was necessary for him to retire. The boy midshipman was early inured to hardships, and was well seasoned to actual warfare and the sight of dire carnage, by his experiences on the long cruise of the *Essex* during the war of 1812. Then there was a long interval without dangerous action, except in the pursuit of the

pirates of the Caribbean sea, when Farragut served under the elder Porter, who was his adopted father. He gradually rose from midshipman to the rank of captain. But the other unusual feature of his career reminds us somewhat of that of Moltke's. Not till he had passed the threshold of the sixties did the opportunity arise for the display of the qualities of a great naval commander. This was, of course, the outbreak of the civil war.

It is greatly to the credit of his sincerity and disinterested devotion as a patriot that at the outbreak of this conflict Farragut was found on the Union side. He was born in New Orleans, and though in early boyhood and young manhood (on those brief occasions when he was in the United States) he was brought up at Chester, Pennsylvania, yet he had married twice into families of Norfolk, Virginia, and his residence was there when on shore. He was anxiously watching the course his state would pursue, but when it decided on secession he, unlike Robert E. Lee, still clung to the Union, and forthwith broke up his home. "He at once went to his house and told his wife the time had come for her to decide whether she would remain with her own kinsfolk or follow him north. Her choice was as instant as his own, and that evening they, with their only son, left Norfolk, never to return to it as their home." Neither was it a pleasure-trip for the devoted family. From Baltimore, "Farragut and his party had to take passage to Philadelphia in a canal-boat, on which were crowded some three hundred passengers, many of them refugees like themselves. It is a curious illustration of the hardships attending a flight under such exigency, even in so rich a country as our own, that a baby in the company had to be fed on biscuit steeped in brandy, for want of proper nourishment."

As the author carefully delineates, at the very beginning of the war an eye was cast upon the scene of Farragut's first great achievement. "The necessity of controlling the Mississippi valley," he says, "had been early realized by the United States government. In its hands the great stream would become an impassable barrier between two large sections of the southern confederacy; whereas, in the possession of the latter, it remained a link binding together all the regions through which it flowed or which were penetrated by any of its numerous tributaries." Hence the scheme was devised of running the forts below New Orleans. Next the man to carry it out was thought of, and Farragut selected. His southern antecedents, in spite of his removal and sacrifices, made the authorities hesitate at first. But he was charged with the work, and the world to-day knows how well he did it. Vivid and clear descriptions are given of the three or four great similar actions carried to success by Farragut.

And the author calls attention to the fact that, in the midst of the glory which these brave deeds brought him, the instinct of the seaman within Farragut made him really envy the achievement of the Kearsarge. His work had been merely to run by forts on land. A real out-and-out engagement at sea, vessels opposed to vessels, would have suited the old tar much better.

Since we are all interested in our "new navy" at present, one or two hints by our author should not be passed over without good heed. The one regards the importance of the navy itself. "Despite the extensive sea coast of the United States, and the large maritime commerce possessed by it at the opening of the war, the navy had never, except for short and passing intervals, been regarded with the interest its importance deserved." Even at the beginning of the war the navy "became simply a division of the land forces. From this subordinate position it was soon raised by its own

intrinsic value and the logic of facts; but the transient experience is noteworthy, because illustrating the general ignorance of the country as to the powers of the priceless weapon which lay ready, though unnoticed, to its hand."

The other hint has respect to a useful policy within the navy, affecting its *personnel*. Farragut obtained responsible command when but about eighteen years of age. His own comment on this fact was this: "I consider it a great advantage to obtain command young, having observed, as a general rule, that persons who come into authority late in life shrink from responsibility, and often break down under its weight." Upon which Captain Mahan comments in turn as follows: "This last sentence, coming from a man of such extensive observation, and who bore in his day the responsibility of such weighty decisions, deserves most serious consideration now, when command rank is reached so very late in the United States navy."

PRIZE COMPETITION DEPARTMENT

To the more inexperienced of those who may be intending to compete for the prizes we offer, a word of advice may not be inappropriate. Any writer who is preparing an historical article on any theme should bear in mind that it is of the utmost importance that he should be perfectly *accurate* in any facts cited. It is the custom of the best historical scholarship to indicate in foot-notes the authorities to which the writer is indebted for his main facts. It is a good practice, in such cases, even to cite, with the name of the work quoted, the date of publication, and page on which the citation occurs. The date of publication generally identifies the edition of the book which has been used, while the citation of page references reduces to a minimum the labor of any reader who wishes to substantiate the statements of the writer by following him in his original sources.

In an historical article, as a rule, every important direct quotation should be referred to its source in a foot-note. And even statements which are couched in one's own language, but which rest for their substantiation upon some particular authority, are frequently made more conclusive by means of the reference. Of course, it remains that even the use of foot-notes can be easily overdone. A little study of historical authorities will enlighten the beginner as to the proper middle course which it is best to pursue.

The competition for the historical ballad and sonnet, which closes on May 1st, next, gives the shortest time of any class. Every person possessed of a genu-

ine touch of the poet's fire ought to make an attempt here. There are many persons, events, principles, ideas, or sentiments connected with American history which might inspire a sonnet; and the stirring scenes which yet await the pen of the balladist are quite innumerable. It is not so easy a matter as it looks, however, to write a worthy ballad. It requires just the proper blending of enthusiasm, dignity, and simplicity in narrative, and it is quite impossible to tell any one *how* to be successful. The peculiar spirit of true poetry eludes criticism. The poet is a law unto himself. It is far easier to pronounce upon the merits of a given example of poetry than it is to define in the abstract what the true poetical spirit is.

Persons intending to compete in the class of the historical novel will be interested in a special critical and descriptive article on "The Historical Novel and American History," which will appear in the April number of the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*. The author will bring under discussion a half-dozen or more examples of the latest issues of historical fiction. *Standish of Standish*, a story of the Pilgrims; *My Lady Pocahontas*, a quaint tale of Virginia; *The Lady of St. John*, an Acadian romance; *Zachary Phipps*, the story of a typical American boy, who is brought through many of the most stirring events of our national history, during the early part of the present century; and four or five volumes in the series of *Columbus Novels*, comprise the books

treated. Their comparative merits will be carefully weighed.

Any one interested, who will take the time to read one or more of the books discussed, of the above list, during the present month, will of course be much better able to appreciate, or take issue with, the criticism offered. It will be better still to give attention to some of the famous standard productions of Walter Scott, for the general subject of the historical novel; or the excellent and attractive stories of our own Cooper, or Hawthorne, for the study of historical fiction in the field of American history. A lecture or article on the place of historical fiction in American literature by William Gilmore Simms, the Southern novelist, should be consulted, as his criticisms of our most prominent authors in this sphere of literary work were highly commended by so eminent an authority as the poet William Cullen Bryant.

A large part of the article to appear in the April number will be devoted to a general discussion of the theme, having under consideration some of the famous types of historical fiction. The value and richness of the field of American history as a basis for the novel is also discussed at length. This part of the paper will perhaps be found its most valuable and instructive feature.

We invite any suggestions or criticisms appropriate to this department from those who are interested in it, either on

their own part, or in behalf of students under their care.

CLOSE OF COMPETITIONS.—Following is a recapitulation in the order of closing the respective contests:

7th Class. Ballad and Sonnet. Closes May 1, 1893.

6th Class. History for Young People. Closes July 1, 1893.

3d Class. Historical Short Story. Closes August 1, 1893.

5th Class. Legend and Tradition. Closes September 1, 1893.

4th Class. Minor Heroes. Closes October 1, 1893.

2d Class. General Historical Article. Closes November 15, 1893.

1st Class. Historical Serial Novel. Closes January 1, 1894.

Every manuscript must be received *on or before* the above date, in the respective class in which it is entered. This rule is imperative, and authors should see that all manuscripts are forwarded in time to avoid the possibility of exclusion on these grounds.

It is also very desirable, and will indicate as well that the writer is endeavoring to work in the spirit of genuine historical research, to accompany each article with a brief summary or catalogue of the various books, periodicals, or manuscripts that have been examined in the preparation of the article submitted in competition. It will be found that nothing is so potent an educative factor in making one skilled in historical work as this carefulness concerning authenticity.



John Brown

AS HE APPEARED IN 1854.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XXIX

APRIL, 1893

No. 4

NEW YORK AFTER THE REVOLUTION

1783-1789

BY HENRY P. JOHNSTON

UPON the evacuation of New York by the British forces, November 25, 1783, the city entered upon the third and modern period of its history. Successively Dutch and English, it was now to put on its distinctively American exterior, and shape its course along new lines defined by new conditions. Not all the original features, however, were to disappear. Elements of the old stock survived, and fundamental characteristics left their traces. If, politically, the transitions from one power to another have been violent, socially, and to a greater extent institutionally, a certain continuity has been preserved. Derived from a common Teutonic ancestry, each group of inhabitants has perpetuated its predecessor in whole or in part, while each change has effected little more than to introduce or evolve a new phase of Teutonic life. The quiet invasion of the city in later days, under the guise of a vast immigration from the Old World, encouraged by the opportunity and responding to the spirit of the age, has fastened a cosmopolitan character upon us; but the family identity is retained. Cosmopolitan New York continues, by absorption, to be essentially American. It is marked, unmistakably, by the inherited brand.

In the development of events interest attaches to what appear to be beginnings—to the new order of things. One may sometimes see inspiration at work here. As against the hardships, struggles, distractions, and quarrels inevitable in the changes and movements of communities, the underlying resolution and confidence are bound to assert themselves; and these attract. The first years of the city's American career are an illustration; discouragement and comparatively slow advance will be succeeded by great strides forward. In 1784 the "plant" consisted of a partially ruined town, straitened resources, an unsettled foreign trade, debts, and hampered enterprises. In 1789 the city was on its feet and conscious of future unlimited expansion.